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*Note.*— This complete list of Contents will take the place of an Index to this volume.

PAPERS  
OF THE  
PEABODY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY  
AND ETHNOLOGY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

VOL. IV.—No. 1

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REPRESENTATION OF DEITIES  
OF THE  
MAYA MANUSCRIPTS

BY

DR. PAUL SCHELLHAS

SECOND EDITION, REVISED  
WITH 1 PLATE OF FIGURES AND 45 TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS

---

TRANSLATED BY

MISS SELMA WESSELHOEFT and  
MISS A. M. PARKER

Translation revised by the Author

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CAMBRIDGE, MASS.  
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# NOTE.

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IN order to make more widely known and more easily accessible to American students the results of important researches on the Maya hieroglyphs, printed in the German language, the Peabody Museum Committee on Central American Research proposes to publish translations of certain papers which are not too lengthy or too extensively illustrated. The present paper by one of the most distinguished scholars in this field is the first of the series.

F. W. PUTNAM.

Harvard University  
September, 1904.

(3)

## PREFACE.

SINCE the first edition of this pamphlet appeared in the year 1897, investigation in this department of science has made such marked progress, notwithstanding the slight amount of material, that a revision has now become desirable. It can be readily understood, that a new science, an investigation on virgin soil, such as the Maya study is, makes more rapid progress and develops more quickly than one pertaining to some old, much explored territory.

In addition to numerous separate treatises, special mention should be made of Ernst Förstemann's commentaries on the three Maya manuscripts (*Kommentar zur Mayahandschrift der Königlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden*, Dresden 1901, *Kommentar zur Madrider Mayahandschrift*, Danzig 1902, and *Kommentar zur Pariser Mayahandschrift*, Danzig 1903) which constitute a summary of the entire results of investigation in this field up to the present time.

The proposal made in the first edition of this pamphlet, that the Maya deities be designated by letters of the alphabet, has been very generally adopted by Americanists, especially by those in the United States of America. This circumstance, in particular, has seemed to make it desirable to prepare for publication a new edition, improved to accord with the present state of the science.

Warmest thanks are above all due to Mr. Bowditch, of Boston, who in the most disinterested manner, for the good of science, has made possible the publication of this new edition.

January, 1904.

P. SCHELLHAS.

## THE MATERIAL OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.

---

THE three manuscripts which we possess of the ancient Maya peoples of Central America, the Dresden (Dr.), the Madrid (Tro.-Cort.) and the Paris (Per.) manuscripts, all contain a series of pictorial representations of human figures, which, beyond question, should be regarded as figures of gods. Together with these are a number of animal figures, some with human bodies, dress and armor, which likewise have a mythologic significance.

The contents of the three manuscripts, which undoubtedly pertain to the calendar system and to the computation of time in their relation to the Maya pantheon and to certain religious and domestic functions, admit of the conclusion, that these figures of gods embody the essential part of the religious conceptions of the Maya peoples in a tolerably complete form. For here we have the entire ritual year, the whole chronology with its mythological relations and all accessories. In addition to this, essentially the same figures recur in all three manuscripts. Their number is not especially large. There are about fifteen figures of gods in human form and about half as many in animal form. At first we were inclined to believe that further researches would considerably increase the number of deities, but this assumption was incorrect. After years of study of the subject and repeated examination of the results of research, it may be regarded as positively proved, that the number of deities represented in the Maya manuscripts does not exceed substantially the limits mentioned above. The principal deities are determined beyond question.

The way in which this was accomplished is strikingly simple. It amounts essentially to that which in ordinary life we call "memory of persons" and follows almost naturally from a careful study of the manuscripts. For, by frequently looking attentively at the representations, one learns by degrees to recog-



nize promptly similar and familiar figures of gods, by the characteristic impression they make as a whole, or by certain details, even when the pictures are partly obliterated or exhibit variations, and the same is true of the accompanying hieroglyphs. A purely inductive, natural science-method has thus been followed, and hence this pamphlet is devoted simply to descriptions and to the amassing of material. These figures have been taken separately out of the manuscripts alone, identified and described with the studious avoidance of all unreliable, misleading accounts and of all presumptive analogies with supposedly allied mythologies.

Whatever cannot be derived from the manuscripts themselves has been wholly ignored. Hypotheses and deductions have been avoided as far as possible. Only where the interpretation, or the resemblance and the relations to kindred mythologic domains were obvious, and where the accounts agreed beyond question, has notice been taken of the fact so that the imposed limitations of this work should not result in one-sidedness.

Since, for the most part, the accounts of Spanish authors regarding the mythology of the Mayas correspond only slightly or not at all with these figures of gods, and all other conjectures respecting their significance are very dubious, the alphabetic designation of the deities, which was tentatively introduced in the first edition of this work, has been preserved. This designation has proved to be practical. For the plate at the end of this pamphlet, examples as characteristic as possible of the individual figures of gods have been selected from the manuscripts.

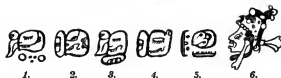
It is a well known fact that we possess no definite knowledge either of the time of the composition or of the local origin of the Maya manuscripts. The objection might, therefore, be raised that it is a hazardous proceeding to treat the material derived from these three manuscripts in common, as if it were homogeneous. But these researches themselves have proved beyond a doubt, that the mythologic import of the manuscripts belongs to one and the same sphere of thought. Essentially the same deities and the same mythologic ideas are, without question, to be found in all the manuscripts.

The material of the inscriptions has been set entirely at one

side, because the style of representation contained in them, both of the mythologic forms and of the hieroglyphs, renders comparison exceedingly difficult. In this field especial credit is due to Förstemann and Seler, for the work they have done in furtherance of interpretation, and mention should not be omitted of the generosity with which the well known promoter of Americanist investigations, the Duke of Loubat, has presented to the Berlin Museum of Ethnology costly originals of reliefs and inscriptions for direct study. The representations on the reliefs from the Maya region, it is true, give evidence of dealing with kindred mythologic conceptions. Figures and hieroglyphs of gods, made familiar by the manuscripts, can also be found here and there. But on the whole so little appears in support of instituting a comparison with the manuscripts, that it seems expedient to leave the inscriptions for independent and special study.

## I. REPRESENTATIONS OF GODS.

### A. The Death-God.




God A is represented as a figure with an exposed, bony spine, truncated nose and grinning teeth.<sup>1</sup> It is plainly to be seen that the head of this god represents a skull and that the spine is that of a skeleton. The pictures of the death-god are so characteristic in the Maya manuscripts that the deity is always easily recognized. He is almost always distinguished by the skeleton face and the bony spine. Several times in the Dresden manuscript the death-god is pictured with large black spots on his body and in Dr. 19<sup>b</sup> a woman with closed eyes, whose body also displays the black spots, is sitting opposite the god. While the Aztecs had a male and a female death-deity, in the Maya manuscripts we find the death-deity only once represented as feminine, namely on p. 9<sup>c</sup> of the Dresden manuscript. Moreover the Dresden manuscript contains several different types of the death-god, having invariably the fleshless skull and (with the exception of Dr. 9<sup>c</sup>) the visible vertebrae of the spine. Several times (Dr. 12<sup>b</sup> and 13<sup>b</sup>) he is represented apparently with distended abdomen. A distinguishing article of his costume is the stiff feather collar, which is worn only by this god, his companion, the war-god F, and by his animal symbol, the owl, which will both be discussed farther on. His head ornament varies in the Dresden Codex; in the first portion of the

<sup>1</sup> See Plate for representations of the gods, A-F

manuscript, relating in part to pregnancy and child-birth (see the pictures of women on p. 16, et seq.), he wears on his head several times a figure occurring very frequently just in this part of the Dresden Codex and apparently representing a snail (compare Dr. 12<sup>b</sup> and 13<sup>b</sup>), which among the Aztecs is likewise a symbol of parturition. In view of these variations in the pictures of the Dresden Codex, it is very striking that in the Codex Tro.-Cortesianus, there is only one invariable type of the death-god.

A distinguishing ornament of the death-god consists of globular bells or rattles, which he wears on his hands and feet, on his collar and as a head ornament. As can be distinctly seen in Dr. 11<sup>a</sup>, they are fastened with bands wound around the forearm and around the leg; in Dr. 15<sup>e</sup> these bells are black.

Among the symbols of the death-god a cross of two bones should be mentioned, which is also found in the Mexican manuscripts. This cross of bones seems to occur once among the written characters as a hieroglyph and then in combination with

a number: Tro. 10.\* The figure  is also a frequent symbol of the death-god. Its significance is still uncertain, but it also occurs among the hieroglyphs as a death-sign and as a sign for the day Cimi (death).

The hieroglyphs of the death-god have been positively determined (see Figs. 1 to 4). Figs. 1 and 2 are the forms of the Dresden manuscript and Figs. 3 and 4 are those of the Madrid manuscript. God A is almost always distinguished by two hieroglyphs, namely Figs. 1 and 2 or 3 and 4. Moreover the hieroglyphs are always the same, have scarcely any variants. Even in Dr. 9<sup>e</sup>, where the deity is represented as feminine, there are no variations which might denote the change of sex. The hieroglyphs consist chiefly of the head of a corpse with closed eyes, and of a skull. The design in front of the skull in Figs. 2 and 4 and under it in Fig. 3 is a sacrificial knife of flint, which was used in slaying the sacrifices, and is also frequently pictured in the Aztec manuscripts. The dots under Fig. 1 are probably intended to represent blood.

The death-god is represented with extraordinary frequency in all the Maya manuscripts. Not only does the figure of the

god itself occur, but his attributes are found in many places where his picture is missing. Death evidently had an important significance in the mythologic conceptions of the Mayas. It is connected with sacrifice, especially with human sacrifices performed in connection with the captive enemy. Just as we find a personification of death in the manuscripts of the Mayas, we also find it in the picture-writings of the ancient Mexicans, often surprisingly like the pictures of the Maya codices. The Aztec death-god and his myth are known through the accounts of Spanish writers; regarding the death-god of the Mayas we have less accurate information. Some mention occurs in Landa's *Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan*, §XXIII, but unfortunately nothing is said of the manner of representing the death-god. He seems to be related to the Aztec *Mictlantecutli*, of whom Sahagun, Appendix to Book III, "*De los que iban al infierno y de sus obsequias*," treats as the god of the dead and of the underworld, *Mictlan*. When the representations of the latter, for example in the *Codex Borgia*, and in the *Codex Vaticanus* No. 3773, are compared with those of the Maya manuscripts, there can be hardly a doubt of the correspondence of the two god figures. In the *Codex Borgia*, p. 37, he is represented once with the same characteristic head ornament, which the death-god usually wears in the Maya manuscripts, and in the *Codex Fejervary*, p. 8, the death-god wears a kind of breeches on which cross-bones are depicted, exactly as in Dr. 9 (bottom).

Bishop Landa informs us that the Mayas "had great and immoderate dread of death." This explains the frequency of the representations of the death-god, from whom, as Landa states, "all evil and especially death" emanated. Among the Aztecs we find a male and a female death-deity, *Mictlantecutli* and *Mictlancihuatl*. They were the rulers of the realm of the dead, *Mictlan*, which, according to the Aztec conception, lay in the north; hence the death-god was at the same time the god of the north.

It agrees with the calendric and astronomic character of the Maya deities in the manuscripts, that a number of the figures of the gods are used in connection with specified cardinal points. Since, according to the Aztec conception, the death-god was the god of the north, we might expect that in the Maya manu-

scripts also, the death-god would be always considered as the deity of the north. Nevertheless this happens only *once*, namely in the picture at the end of Codex Cort., pp. 41 and 42. Elsewhere, on the other hand, this god is connected with other cardinal points, thus Dr. 14<sup>a</sup> with the west or east (the hieroglyph is illegible, but it can be only west or east), and in Dr. 27<sup>a</sup> with the west. It is interesting to note that once, however, in a series of cardinal points, the hieroglyph of the death-god connected with the numeral 10 stands just in the place of the sign of the north; this is on Tro. 24\* (bottom).

In regard to the name of the death-god in the Maya language, Landa tells us that the wicked after death were banished to an underworld, the name of which was "Mitnal", a word which is defined as "Hell" in the Maya lexicon of Pio Perez and which has a striking resemblance to Mictlan, the Aztec name for the lower regions. The death-god Hunhau reigned in this underworld. According to other accounts (Hernandez), however, the death-god is called Ahpuch. These names can in no wise serve as aids to the explanation of the hieroglyphs of the death-god, since they have no etymologic connection with death or the heads of corpses and skulls, which form the main parts of the hieroglyph. Furthermore, the hieroglyphs of the gods certainly have a purely ideographic significance as already mentioned above, so that any relation between the names of the deities and their hieroglyphs cannot exist from the very nature of the case.

The day of the death-god is the day Cimi, death. The day-sign Cimi corresponds almost perfectly with the heads of corpses contained in the hieroglyphs of the death-god.

A hieroglyphic sign, which relates to death and the death-deity and occurs very frequently, is the sign Fig. 5, which is probably to be regarded as the ideogram of the owl. It represents the head of an owl, while the figure in front of it signifies the owl's ear and the one below, its teeth, as distinguishing marks of a bird of prey furnished with ears and a powerful beak. The head of the owl appears on a human body several times in the Dresden manuscript as a substitute for the death-deity, thus Dr. 18<sup>c</sup>, 19<sup>c</sup>, 20<sup>a</sup> and 20<sup>c</sup> and in other places, and the hiero-

glyphic group (Fig. 5) is almost a regular attendant hieroglyph of the death-god.

A series of other figures of the Maya mythology is connected with the death-god. This is evident from the fact that his hieroglyphs or his symbols occur with certain other figures, which are thus brought into connection with death and the death-deity.

These figures are as follows:

1. His companion, god F, the god of war, of human sacrifice and of violent death in battle, apparently a counterpart of the Aztec Xipe, who will be discussed farther on.

2. The moan bird. See beyond under Mythological Animals, No. 1.

3. The dog. See the same, No. 3.

4. A human figure, possibly representing the priest of the death-god (see Dr. 28, centre, Dr. 5<sup>b</sup> and 9<sup>a</sup>). The last figure is a little doubtful. It is blindfolded and thus recalls the Aztec deity of frost and sin, Itztlacolihqui. A similar form with eyes bound occurs only once again in the Maya manuscripts, namely Dr. 50 (centre). That this figure is related to the death-god is proved by the fact that on Dr. 9<sup>a</sup> it wears the Cimi-sign on the middle piece of the chain around its neck. Furthermore it should be emphasized that the Aztec sin-god, Itztlacolihqui, likewise appears with symbols of death.

5. An isolated figure, Dr. 50<sup>a</sup> (the sitting figure at the right). This wears the skull as head ornament, which is represented in exactly the same way as in the Aztec manuscripts (see Fig. 6).

6. Another isolated figure is twice represented combined with the death-god in Dr. 22<sup>c</sup>. This picture is so effaced that it is impossible to tell what it means. The hieroglyph represents a variant of the death's-head, Cimi. It seems to signify an ape, which also in the pictures of the Mexican codices was sometimes used in relation to the death-god.

The symbols of the death-god are also found with the figure without a head on Dr. 2 (45)<sup>a</sup>, clearly the picture of a beheaded prisoner. Death symbols occur, too, with the curious picture of a hanged woman on Dr. 53<sup>b</sup>, a picture which is interesting from the fact that it recalls vividly a communication of Bishop

Landa. Landa tells us, the Mayas believed that whoever hanged himself did not go to the underworld, but to "paradise," and as a result of this belief, suicide by hanging was very common and was chosen on the slightest pretext. Such suicides were received in paradise by the goddess of the hanged, Ixtab. *Ix* is the feminine prefix; *tab*, *taab*, *tabil* mean, according to Perez' Lexicon of the Maya Language, "*cuenda destinada para algun uso exclusivo*". The name of this strange goddess is, therefore, the "Goddess of the Halter" or, as Landa says, "The Goddess of the Gallows". Now compare Dr. 53. On the upper half of the page is the death-god represented with hand raised threateningly, on the lower half is seen the form of a woman suspended by a rope placed around her neck. The closed eye, the open mouth and the convulsively outspread fingers, show that she is dead, in fact, strangled. It is, in all probability, the goddess of the gallows and halter, Ixtab, the patroness of the hanged, who is pictured here in company with the death-god; or else it is a victim of this goddess, and page 53 of the manuscript very probably refers, therefore (even though the two halves do not belong directly together), to the mythologic conceptions of death and the lower regions to which Landa alludes.

7. Lastly the owl is to be mentioned as belonging to the death-god, which, strange to say, is represented nowhere in the pictures realistically and so that it can be recognized, although other mythologic animals, as the dog or the moan bird, occur plainly as animals in the pictures. On the other hand, the owl's head appears on a human body in the Dresden manuscript as a substitute for the death-deity itself, for example on Dr. 18°, 19°, 20° and 20° and elsewhere, and forms a regular attendant hieroglyph of the death-god in the group of three signs already mentioned (Fig. 5).

Among the antiquities from the Maya region of Central America, there are many objects and representations, which have reference to the cultus of the death-god, and show resemblances to the pictures of the manuscripts. The death-god also plays a role, even today, in the popular superstitions of the natives of Yucatan, as a kind of spectre that prowls around the houses of the sick. His name is Yum Cimil, the lord of death.



**B. The God With the Large Nose  
and Lolling Tongue.**



The deity, represented most frequently in all the manuscripts, is a figure with a long, proboscis-like, pendent nose and a tongue (or teeth, fangs) hanging out in front and at the sides of the mouth, also with a characteristic head ornament resembling a knotted bow and with a peculiar rim to the eye. Fig. 7 is the hieroglyph of this deity. In Codex Tro.-Cortesianus it usually has the form of Fig. 8.

God B is evidently one of the most important of the Maya pantheon. He must be a universal deity, to whom the most varied elements, natural phenomena and activities are subject. He is represented with different attributes and symbols of power, with torches in his hands as symbols of fire, sitting in the water and on the water, standing in the rain, riding in a canoe, enthroned on the clouds of heaven and on the cross-shaped tree of the four points of the compass, which, on account of its likeness to the Christian emblem, has many times been the subject of fantastic hypotheses. We see the god again on the Cab-sign, the symbol of the earth, with weapons, axe and spears, in his hands, planting kernels of maize, on a journey (Dr. 65<sup>b</sup>) staff in hand and a bundle on his back, and fettered (Dr. 37<sup>a</sup>) with arms bound behind his back. His entire myth seems to be recorded in the manuscripts. The great abundance of symbolism renders difficult the characterization of the deity, and it is well-nigh impossible to discover that a single mythologic idea underlies the whole. God B is quite often connected with the serpent, without exhibiting affinity with the Chicchan-god H (see p. 28). In Dr. 33<sup>b</sup>, 34<sup>b</sup> and 35<sup>b</sup>, the serpent is in the act of devouring him, or he is rising up out of the serpent's jaws, as is plainly indicated also by the hieroglyphs, for they contain the group given in Fig. 10, which is composed of the rattle of the rattlesnake and the opened hand as a symbol of seizing and absorption. God B himself is pictured with the body of a serpent in

Dr. 35<sup>b</sup> and 36<sup>a</sup> (compare No. 2 of the Mythological Animals). He likewise occurs sitting on the serpent and in Dr. 66<sup>a</sup> he is twice (1st and 3d figures) pictured with a snake in his hand.

God B sits on the moan head in Dr. 38<sup>c</sup>, on a head with the Cauae-sign in Dr. 39<sup>c</sup>, 66<sup>c</sup>, and on the dog in Dr. 29<sup>a</sup>. All these pictures are meant to typify his abode in the air, above rain, storm and death-bringing clouds, from which the lightning falls. The object with the cross-bones of the death-god, on which he sits in Dr. 66<sup>c</sup>, can perhaps be explained in the same manner. As the fish belongs to god B in a symbolic sense, so the god is represented fishing in Dr. 44 (1). His face with the large nose and the tongue (or fangs) hanging out on the side in Dr. 44 (1)<sup>a</sup> (1st figure) is supposed to be a mask which the priest, representing the god, assumes during the religious ceremony.

Furthermore the following four well-known symbols of sacrificial gifts appear in connection with god B in the Dresden manuscript; a sprouting kernel of maize (or, according to Förstemann, parts of a mammal, game), a fish, a lizard and a vulture's head, as symbols of the four elements. They seem to occur, however, in relation also to other deities and evidently are general symbols of sacrificial gifts. Thus they occur on the two companion initial pages of the Codex Tro.-Cortesianus, on which the hieroglyphs of gods C and K are repeated in rows (Tro. 36-Cort. 22. Compare Förstemann, *Kommentar zur Madrider Handschrift*, pp. 102, 103). God B is also connected with the four colors — yellow, red, white and black — which, according to the conception of the Mayas, correspond to the cardinal points (yellow, air; red, fire; white, water; black, earth) and the god himself is occasionally represented with a black body, for example on Dr. 29<sup>c</sup>, 31<sup>c</sup> and 69. This is expressed in the hieroglyphs by the sign, Fig. 9, which signifies black and is one of the four signs of the symbolic colors for the cardinal points.

God B is represented with all the *four cardinal points*, a characteristic, which he shares only with god C, god K, and, in one instance, with god F (see Tro. 29<sup>a</sup>); he appears as ruler of all the points of the compass; north, south, east and west as well as air, fire, water and earth are subject to him.

Opinions concerning the significance of this deity are much divided. It is most probable that he is Kukulcan, a figure oc-

curring repeatedly in the mythology of the Central American peoples and whose name, like that of the kindred deity Quetzalcoatl among the Aztecs and Gucumatz among the Quiches, means the "feathered serpent", "the bird serpent". Kukulcan and Gucumatz are those figures of Central American mythology, to which belong the legends of the creation of the world and of mankind. Furthermore Kukulcan is considered as the founder of civilization, as the builder of cities, as hero-god, and appears in another conception as the rain-deity, and — since the serpent has a mythologic relation to water — as serpent deity. J. Walter Fewkes, who has made this god-figure of the Maya manuscripts the subject of a monograph (*A Study of Certain Figures in a Maya Codex*, in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. VII, No. 3, Washington, 1894), also inclines to the belief that B is the god Kukulcan, whom he conceives of as a serpent-and-rain-deity. This view has been accepted by Förstemann (*Die Tagegötter der Mayas*, Globus, Vol. 73, No. 10) and also by Cyrus Thomas (*Aids to the Study of the Maya Codices*, Washington, 1888). The same opinion is held also by E. P. Dieseldorff, who, a resident of Guatemala, the region of the ancient Maya civilization, has instituted excavations which have been successful in furnishing most satisfactory material for these researches (see Dieseldorff: *Kukulcan*, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1895, p. 780). Others have considered god B as the first parent and lord of the heavens, Itzamná who has a mythologic importance analogous to that of Kukulcan. Itzamná is also held to be the god of creation and founder of civilization and accordingly seems to be not very remotely allied to the god Kukulcan. Others again, for example Brasseur de Bourbourg and Seler, have interpreted the figure of god B to represent the fourfold god of the cardinal points and rain-god Chac, a counterpart of the Aztec rain-god Tlaloc. The fact that this god-figure is so frequently connected with the serpent and the bird is strongly in favor of the correctness of the supposition, that we should see in god B a figure corresponding to the Kukulcan of tradition. Thus we see the god represented once with the body of a serpent and with a bird near by (Cort. 10<sup>b</sup>), while B's hieroglyph appears both times in the text. God B is also pictured elsewhere repeatedly with a serpent body, thus for example on

Dr. 35<sup>b</sup>, 36<sup>a</sup>. On pages 4-6 of the Codex Cortesianus he is pictured six times and each time in connection with a serpent.

The accounts we have received concerning the mythology of the Maya peoples are very meagre and owing to the uncertainty respecting the origin of the Maya manuscripts, it cannot even be determined which of these accounts are applicable to the Maya manuscripts, or, indeed, whether they are applicable at all. For it is by no means positively proved that these manuscripts did not originate in regions of Maya culture, regarding which we have received no accounts at all. As our present purpose is purely that of description and determination, it remains quite unimportant which of these recorded figures of gods shall be regarded as god B.

God B is nearly allied to, but in no wise identical with, the deity with the large ornamented nose, designated by K, who will be discussed farther on. God K is an independent deity designated by a special hieroglyph, but like C he stands in an unknown relation to God B (for details see K).

Finally it should be mentioned, that god B never appears with death symbols. He is clearly a deity of life and creation, in contrast to the powers of death and destruction.

His day seems to be Ik (aspiration, breath, life). (Compare Förstemann, *Die Tagegötter der Mayas*, Globus, Vol. 73, No. 10).

#### C. The God with the Ornamented Face.



This is one of the most remarkable and most difficult figures of the Maya manuscripts, and shows, at the same time, how imperfect must be the information we have received in regard to the Maya mythology, since from the frequency of his representations he is obviously one of the most important deities and yet can be identified with none of the representations of gods handed

down to us. His hieroglyph is definitely determined (Figs. 11, 12). The circular design in front of the forehead of the hieroglyph head seems, as a variant from the Codex Tro. (Fig. 12) leads us to suppose, to denote the ideographic representation of pouring out or emptying a vessel, the contents of which flow into the mouth of the god. Another variant of this prefix occurs in Tro. 13<sup>ab</sup>; Fig. 15, the symbol of the sacrificial knife, and instead of the prefix the numeral 13 occurs in one instance (Tro. 12<sup>c</sup>). The head alone, without any accessory symbol whatever, is also found a few times, not in the text, however, but only in the pictures, for example Cort. 10 (bottom) and Tro. 13\* (bottom). This deity does not occur very often in the Dresden manuscript, the places where it is depicted are: Dr. 5<sup>a</sup>, 6<sup>c</sup>, 13<sup>b</sup>, 35<sup>a</sup>, 68<sup>a</sup>, and as a subordinate figure on 8<sup>c</sup>, 42<sup>a</sup>. His hieroglyph occurs alone a few times, as in Dr. 4; it is more frequent in the Madrid manuscript. It appears on pp. 15 to 18 of the Paris manuscript.

In regard to the significance of this deity, he doubtless represents the personification of a heavenly body of astronomic importance, probably the polar star. In Codex Cort. 10 (bottom), his head is represented surrounded by a nimbus of rays, which can only mean a star (see Fig. 13). On the lower part of the same page, the third picture from the left, we again see the deity hanging from the sky in a kind of rope. Furthermore it appears in Codex Tro. 20, 22 and 23 (centre) Fig. 14, in the familiar rectangular planet signs. Tro. 17\* (at the top) the head surmounts the cross-shaped tree of god B, which denotes the lofty, celestial abode. Indeed, these passages prove positively that a heavenly body underlies the idea of this deity.

Furthermore, the head of this god recurs in entire rows in the calendaric group of tabular form on the so-called initial page of the Codex Tro. 36, with its continuation in the Cort. p. 22, and in exactly the same manner in the allied passage of Tro. 14 (middle and bottom). In addition, his head is contained in the symbol for the north (Fig. 16); the head contained in this sign is in fact nothing else than the head of god C.

Brinton also accepts this interpretation of god C. According to Förstemann (*Die Mayahieroglyphen*, Globus, Vol. 71, No. 5),

the fact that the figure of god C in the Tonalamatl in Dr. 4<sup>a</sup>-10<sup>a</sup> occurs on the day Chuen of the Maya calendar, which corresponds to the day Ozomatli, the ape, in the Aztec calendar, seems to indicate that the singular head of C is that of an *ape*, whose lateral nasal cavity (peculiar to the American ape or monkey) is occasionally represented plainly in the hieroglyph picture. Hence it might further be assumed that god C symbolizes not the polar star alone, but rather the entire *constellation of the Little Bear*. And, in fact, the figure of a long-tailed ape is quite appropriate to the constellation, at any rate decidedly more so than the Bear; indeed, it suggests the prehensile tail by means of which the ape could attach himself to the pole and in the form of the constellation swing around the pole as around a fixed point.

These astronomical surmises seem to be contradicted by the fact that god C, as already stated, is represented with all the four cardinal points (compare for example Cort. 10 and 11, bottom), which would certainly seem to harmonize ill with his personification of the north star, unless we assume, that in a different conception of the polar star he is ruler of the cardinal points, which are determined from him as a centre.

It has already been remarked of B, that the deity C appears to stand in some sort of relation to him. In fact, we find on those pages of the Dresden manuscript, where B is represented with the four cardinal points, that the hieroglyph of C almost always occurs in the text also (for example Dr. 29, et seq., especially Dr. 32<sup>e</sup>). Indeed, C's hieroglyph is connected even with the signs of the symbolic colors of the cardinal points, already mentioned in connection with B.

Finally, it should be borne in mind, that god C also seems to be connected in some way with the serpent (compare Dr. 36<sup>b</sup>, 1st and 3d pictures).

According to Förstemann, the day ruled by C seems to be Chuen.

## D. The Moon- and Night-God.



This is a deity who is pictured in the form of an old man with an aged face and sunken, toothless mouth. He is frequently characterized by a long, pendent head ornament, in which is the sign Akbal, darkness, night, which also appears in his hieroglyph before the forehead of the deity, surrounded by dots as an indication of the starry sky. His name-hieroglyph is Fig. 17, and a second sign almost always follows (Fig. 18) which evidently serves likewise as a designation of the god, just as god A also is always designated by two hieroglyphs. The second sign consists of two sacrificial knives and the sign of the day Ahau, which is equivalent to "king".

The head of this deity appears in reduced, cursive form as the sign of the moon (Fig. 20). This character also has the significance of 20 as a number sign in the calendar. The association of these ideas probably rests upon the ancient conceptions, according to which the moon appearing, waxing, waning and again disappearing, was compared to man, and man in primeval ages was the most primitive calculating machine, being equivalent, from the sum of his fingers and toes, to the number 20. Twenty days is also the duration of that period during which the moon (aside from the new moon) is really alive. Moreover the sign (Fig. 20) appears in many places as a counterpart of the sign for the sun.

God D occurs once as feminine in the same passage mentioned above, in which the death-deity is also pictured as feminine (Dr. 9<sup>c</sup>). In a few other places the god is, curiously enough, depicted with a short beard, as Dr. 4<sup>c</sup>, 7<sup>a</sup>, 27<sup>b</sup>. He seems to stand in an unknown relation to the water-goddess I (see this deity) with the serpent as a head ornament, compare Dr. 9<sup>c</sup>, where apparently this goddess is represented, though the text has D's sign; still it is possible that god D is pictured here with the attributes of goddess I.

God D is not connected with the grim powers of destruction; he never appears with death symbols. In Dr. 5<sup>c</sup> and 9<sup>a</sup> he wears the snail on his head. He seems, therefore, like god A to be connected with birth. In Dr. 8<sup>c</sup> he is connected with god C, and this is quite appropriate, if we look upon these gods as heavenly bodies. The aged face, the sunken, toothless mouth are his distinguishing marks. In the Madrid manuscript, where god D occurs with special frequency, his chief characteristic, by which he is always easily recognized, is the single tooth in his under-jaw (see Fig. 19), compare too Dr. 8<sup>c</sup>, where the solitary tooth is also to be seen. In Dr. 9<sup>a</sup> (1st figure) the god holds in his hand a kind of sprinkler with the rattles of the rattlesnake, as Landa (Cap. 26) describes the god in connection with the rite of infant baptism (see also Cort. 26, Tro. 7<sup>\*a</sup> and 13<sup>\*c</sup>).

A very remarkable passage is Tro. 15<sup>\*</sup>; there a figure is pictured carving with a hatchet a head, which it holds in its hand. Above it are four hieroglyphs. The first shows a hatchet and the moon; the second probably represents simply a head, while the third and fourth are those of god D, the moon-god. This passage, the meaning of which is unfortunately still obscure seems to contain a definite explanation of god D.

J. Walter Fewkes has made god D the subject of a special, very detailed monograph (The God "D" in the Codex Cortesianus, Washington, 1895) in which he has treated also of gods B and G, whom he considers allied to D. He believes D to be the god Itzamná, as do also Förstemann, Cyrus Thomas and Seler, and sees sun-gods in all three of these deities. Whether god D is to be separated from G and B as an independent deity, Fewkes thinks is doubtful. Brinton again holds that god D is Kukulcan. These different opinions show, at all events, on what uncertain grounds such attempts at interpretation stand, and that it is best to be satisfied with designating the deities by letters and collecting material for their purely descriptive designation.

According to Förstemann the calendar day devoted to D is **Ahau**.



## E. The Maize-God.



This god bears on his head the Kan-sign and above it the ear of maize with leaves (Fig. 23); compare Dr. 9<sup>b</sup> (left figure), 11<sup>b</sup>, 12<sup>a</sup>, etc. The hieroglyph is definitely determined (Fig. 21). The god is identical with the figures recurring with especial frequency in the Madrid manuscript, the heads of which are prolonged upward and curved backward in a peculiar manner; compare Cort. 15<sup>a</sup>, 20<sup>c</sup>, 40 (bottom), Tro. 32\*<sup>b</sup> (Figs. 25-27) and especially the representation in Dr. 50<sup>a</sup> (Fig. 24), which is very distinct. This head was evolved out of the conventional drawing of the ear of maize; compare the pictures of the maize plant in the Codex Tro., p. 29<sup>b</sup> (Fig. 22) with the head ornament of the god in Dr. 9<sup>b</sup> (Fig. 23), 9<sup>a</sup>, 12<sup>a</sup>; what was originally a head ornament finally passed into the form of the head itself, so that the latter appears now as an ear of maize surrounded by leaves. Compare the pictures, Figs. 25-27. That these gods with elongated heads are, in point of fact, identical with E is plainly seen from the passage in Dr. 2 (45)<sup>c</sup> (first figure). There the figure represented, which is exactly like the pictures in the Madrid manuscript, is designated explicitly as god E by the third hieroglyph in the accompanying writing.

The hieroglyph of this deity is thus explained; it is the head of the god merged into the conventionalized form of the ear of maize surrounded by leaves. When we remember that the Maya nations practised the custom of artificially deforming the skull, as is seen in particular on the reliefs at Palenque, we may also regard the heads of these deities as representations of such artificially flattened skulls.

God E occurs frequently as the god of husbandry, especially in the Madrid manuscript, which devotes much attention to agriculture. He seems to be a counterpart of the Mexican maize-god Centeotl. The passages in the Madrid manuscript

(Tro. 29<sup>a</sup> and Cort. 39<sup>a</sup>, 40<sup>a</sup>) are very remarkable, where the deity E is represented in the position of a woman in labor with numerals on the abdomen; perhaps the underlying idea is that of fruitfulness.

In the Codex Cort., p. 40, this grain-deity is pictured with a tall and slender vessel before him, which he holds in his hands. It is possible that this is meant to suggest a grain receptacle; to be sure, in the same place, other figures of gods likewise have such vessels in their hands. At any rate, it is interesting to note that in the passage already mentioned (Dr. 50<sup>a</sup>) god E also holds a similar tall and slender vessel in his hands.

According to all appearances the scene pictured in Dr. 50<sup>a</sup> has reference to the conflict of the grain-god with a death-deity. The latter, the figure sitting on the right, is characterized by a skull as a head ornament (see Fig. 6) and seems to address threats or commands to god E, who stands before him in the attitude of a terrified and cowed individual.

Furthermore god E has nothing to do with the powers of the underworld; he is a god of life, of prosperity and fruitfulness; symbols of death are never found in connection with him. Brinton calls this god Ghanan, equivalent to Kan; it is possible, too, that he is identical with a deity Yum Kaax who has been handed down to us and whose name means "Lord of the harvest fields".

According to Förstmann the day dedicated to this god is Kan.

#### F. The God of War and of Human Sacrifices.



This is a deity closely related to the death-god A, resembling the Aztec Xipe, and may, I think, without hesitation be regarded simply as the god of human sacrifice, perhaps, even more generally, as the god of death by violence. His hieroglyph

is Figs. 28-30; it contains the number 11. A variant of this occurs on Dr. 7<sup>b</sup>, where instead of the 11 there is the following

sign: 

The characteristic mark of god F is a single black line usually running perpendicularly down the face in the vicinity of the eye. This line should be distinguished from the parallel lines of C's face and from the line, which, as a continuation of god E's head resembling an ear of maize, frequently appears on his face, especially as in the variants of the Madrid manuscript (compare Figs. 25-27). These pictures of E can always be un-failingly recognized by the peculiar shape of the head and should be distinguished from those representing F. The black face-line is the distinguishing mark of god F, just as it is of the Aztec Xipe. It sometimes runs in a curve over the cheek as a thick, black stripe, as Cort. 42. Sometimes it encircles the eye only (Dr. 6<sup>a</sup>) and again it is a dotted double line (Dr. 6<sup>b</sup>). The hieroglyph of god F likewise exhibits this line and with the very same variants as the god himself. See the hieroglyphs of the god belonging to the pictures in Dr. 6<sup>a</sup>, 1st and 3d figures, in which the line likewise differs from the other forms (Figs. 30-34).

In a few places god F is pictured with the same black lines *on his entire body*, which elsewhere he has only on his face, the lines being like those in Fig. 31, namely Tro. 27<sup>a</sup>. Indeed, in Tro. 28<sup>a</sup>, the death-god A likewise has these black lines on his body and also F's line on his face; a clear proof of the close relationship of the two deities. These lines probably signify gaping death-wounds and the accompanying rows of dots are intended to represent the blood.

Since god F is a death-deity the familiar sign (Fig. 5), which occurs so frequently with the hieroglyphs of A, also belongs to his symbols. F is pictured in company with the death-god in connection with human sacrifice (Cort. 42); an exactly similar picture of the two gods of human sacrifice is given in Codex Tro. 30<sup>d</sup>; here, too, they sit opposite one another. The identity of this attendant of death with the deity, designated by the hieroglyph with the numeral 11, is proved by the following pas-

sages: Tro. 19, bottom (on the extreme right hand without picture, only hieroglyph, see Fig. 29), Dr. 5<sup>b</sup>, 6<sup>a</sup>, <sup>b</sup>, and <sup>c</sup> and many others. In some of the passages cited (Dr. 5<sup>a</sup> and <sup>b</sup>) he is distinguished by an unusually large ear-peg. His hieroglyph occurs with the hieroglyph of the death-god in Dr. 6<sup>c</sup>, where he is himself not pictured.

As war-god, god F occurs combined with the death-god in the passages mentioned above (Tro. 27\*-29\*<sup>c</sup>), where he sets the houses on fire with his torch and demolishes them with his spear.

God F occurs quite frequently in the manuscripts and must therefore be considered as one of the more important deities.

According to Förstemann his day is Manik, the seizing, grasping hand, symbolizing the capturing of an enemy in war for sacrificial purposes.

F's sign occurs once, as mentioned above, in fourfold repetition with all the four cardinal points, namely in Tro. 29\*<sup>c</sup>. In ancient Central America the captured enemy was sacrificed and thus the conceptions of the war-god and of the god of death by violence and by human sacrifice are united in the figure of god F. In this character god F occurs several times in the Madrid manuscript in combat with M, the god of travelling merchants (see page 35). Spanish writers do not mention a deity of the kind described here as belonging to the Maya pantheon.

#### G. The Sun-God.



35.

36.

God G's hieroglyph (Fig. 35) contains as its chief factor the sun-sign Kin. It is one of the signs (of which there are about 12 in the manuscripts), which has the Ben-ik prefix and doubtless denotes a month dedicated to the sun. There is, I think, no difference of opinion regarding the significance of this deity, although Fewkes, as already stated, is inclined to identify G with B, whom, it is true, the former resembles. It is surprising

that a deity who from his nature must be considered as very important,<sup>1</sup> is represented with such comparative infrequency. He occurs only a few times in the Dresden manuscript, for example 22<sup>b</sup>, 11<sup>c</sup>, and in the Codex Tro.-Cortesianus none can be found among the figures which could be safely regarded as the sun-god; in no manuscript except the Dresden does a deity occur wearing the sun-sign Kin on his body. But once in the Codex Cort. the figure of D appears with the sun-sign on his head, as pointed out by Fewkes in his article entitled "The God 'D' in the Codex Cortesianus". G's hieroglyph, to be sure, is found repeatedly in the Madrid manuscript, for example Codex Tro. 31<sup>c</sup>.

God G seems to be not wholly without relation to the powers of death; the owl-sign (Fig. 5) occurs once in connection with him (Dr. 11<sup>c</sup>). Besides the sun-sign Kin, which the god bears on his body, his representations are distinguished by a peculiar nose ornament (Fig. 36) which, as may be seen by comparison with other similar pictures in the Dresden manuscript, is nothing but a large and especially elaborate nose-peg. Similar ornaments are rather common just here in the carefully drawn first part of the Dresden manuscript. Compare Dr. 22<sup>b</sup> (middle figure), 21 (centre), 17<sup>b</sup>, 14<sup>a, b</sup>; occasionally they also have the shape of a flower, for example 12<sup>b</sup> (centre), 11<sup>c</sup> (left), 19<sup>a</sup>. Lastly it is worthy of note, that god G is sometimes represented with a snake-like tongue protruding from his mouth, as in Dr. 11<sup>b</sup> and <sup>c</sup>.

#### H. The Chiechan-God.



The figure of a deity of frequent occurrence in the Dresden manuscript is a god, who is characterized by a skin-spot or a scale of a serpent on his temple of the same shape as the hieroglyph of the day Chiechan (serpent). Moreover the representations of the god himself differ very much, so that there are almost

no other positive, unvarying characteristic marks to be specified. His picture is plainly recognizable and has the Chicchan-mark on the temple in Dr. 11<sup>a</sup>, 12<sup>b</sup> and 20<sup>b</sup>.

The hieroglyph belonging to this deity likewise displays the Chicchan-sign as its distinguishing mark. Furthermore several variants occur. The Chicchan-sign has sometimes the form of Fig. 37 and again that of Fig. 38. The prefix likewise differs very much, having sometimes the form of Fig. 37, and again that of Fig. 38 or of Figs. 39 and 40. Thus there are, in all, four different forms of the prefix. It is to be assumed that all these hieroglyphs have the same meaning, notwithstanding their variations. Taking into consideration the frequency of the variations of other hieroglyphs of gods and of the hieroglyphs in the Maya manuscripts in general, it is quite improbable from the nature of the case, that a hieroglyph, which displays so great an agreement in its essential and characteristic elements, should denote several different gods. The dissimilarity which Seler thinks he finds between the forms of the Chicchan-sign in Figs. 37 and 38 and which leads him to assume that Fig. 37 is not a Chicchan-sign at all, but that it denotes another face ornament, cannot be satisfactorily proved, and must be regarded as an arbitrary assumption. The Chicchan-mark in the sign of the day Chicchan also differs very much from that on the bodies of the serpents pictured in the manuscripts, so that variations of this kind by no means make it necessary to assume that the hieroglyphs actually denote different things. Observe, for example, the different Chicchan-spots on the serpent's body in Tro. 27<sup>a</sup>. The crenelated, black border of the Chicchan-spot in Fig. 38 passes in rapid cursive drawing almost of itself into the scallops of Fig. 37, a transition to which there are distinct tendencies on the serpent's body in Tro. 27<sup>a</sup>. Nor does the fact, that under H's hieroglyph different personages are very often pictured, whom we cannot positively identify, compel the assumption that we have here not *one*, but two or more mythical figures, for the same is true of other hieroglyphs of gods. There are many places in the manuscripts where the text contains a definite well-known hieroglyph of a god, while the accompanying picture represents some other deity or some other figure not definitely characterized, perhaps merely a human form (priest, warrior, woman and the like).

Thus in Dr. 4<sup>a</sup> we see H's hieroglyph in the text, but the picture is the figure of god P while in other places we miss the characteristic Chicchan-spot on the figure represented, for example Dr. 4<sup>c</sup>, 6<sup>a</sup>, 7<sup>b</sup>, 7<sup>c</sup>, 14<sup>a</sup>, 21<sup>c</sup>. In the Madrid manuscript, it is true, H's hieroglyph also occurs often enough, but *not in a single instance* is a deity represented displaying the Chicchan-spot. This fact is, I think, to be explained by the coarser style of the drawing, which does not admit of representing such fine details as in the Dresden manuscript. In the Paris manuscript H's hieroglyph occurs but once (p. 8, bottom).

Seler thinks he recognizes in some of the figures represented under H's hieroglyph in the manuscripts, a so-called "young god". Such a deity is unknown and the assumption is entirely arbitrary. Apparently this "young god" is an invention of Brinton. The purely inductive and descriptive study of the manuscripts does not prove the existence of such a personage, and we must decline to admit him as the result of deductive reasoning. In this so-called "young god", we miss, first of all, a characteristic mark, a distinct peculiarity such as belongs to all the figures of gods in the manuscripts without exception and by which he could be recognized. Except his so-called youthfulness, however, no such definite marks are to be found. Furthermore there is no figure of a god in the manuscripts which would not be designated by a definite characteristic hieroglyph. No such hieroglyph can be proved as belonging to the "young god". The figures, which are supposed to have a "youthful appearance" in the Madrid manuscript, often convey this impression merely in consequence of their smallness and of the pitiful, squatting attitude in which they are represented. Furthermore real *children* do occur here and there, thus, for example, in the Dresden manuscript in connection with the pictures of women in the first part and in Tro. 20<sup>c</sup> in the representation of the so-called "infant baptism."

That god H has some relation to the serpent must be conjectured from what has been said. Thus, for example, on Dr. 15<sup>b</sup>, we see his hieroglyph belonging to the figure of a woman with the knotted serpent on her head, in Dr. 4<sup>a</sup> to the god P, who there bears a serpent in his hand, and in Dr. 35<sup>b</sup> in connection with a serpent with B's head. What this relation is, cannot now be stated.

The day dedicated to god H is Chicchan, and the sign for this day is his distinguishing hieroglyph.

# I. The Water-Goddess.



41

In the Dresden manuscript the figure of an old woman, with the body stained brown and claws in place of feet, occurs repeatedly. She wears on her head a knotted serpent and with her hands pours water from a vessel. Evidently we have here a personification of water in its quality of destroyer, a goddess of floods and cloud-bursts, which, as we know, play an important part in Central America. Page 27, of the Codex Troano contains a picture, in which this character of goddess I may be distinctly recognized. In accordance with this character also on Dr. 74, where something resembling a flood is represented, she wears the cross-bones of the death-god.

The goddess is pictured in the manner described in the following places: Dr. 39<sup>b</sup>, 43<sup>b</sup>, 67<sup>a</sup> and 74. The figure corresponding to her in the Madrid manuscript, in Tro. 27 and 34<sup>c</sup>, displays some variations, in particular the tiger claws on the feet and the red-brown color of the body are lacking. But the agreement cannot be questioned, I think, when we recall that the Maya manuscripts doubtless originated in different ages and different areas of civilization, circumstances which readily explain such variations. The goddess distinguished in the Madrid manuscript by symbols of flood and water is doubtless the same as goddess I of the Dresden manuscript described above; her unmistakable character of water-goddess in both manuscripts is in favor of this. In both manuscripts she is invariably distinguished by the serpent on her head, which, as we know, is a symbol of the water flowing along and forming waves.

Strange to say, a fixed hieroglyph of this goddess cannot be proved with certainty. There is some probability in favor of the sign given in Fig. 41. The well-known oblong sign, which



Förstemann (*Drei Mayahieroglyphen*, published in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1901, pp. 215-221) interprets as the sign for evil days, frequently occur with her. This would be appropriate for the goddess of floods.

In the Dresden manuscript a few similar figures of women are found, who, like goddess I, wear a knotted serpent on the head. Representations of this kind occur in Dr. 9<sup>c</sup>, 15<sup>b</sup>, 18<sup>a</sup>, 20<sup>a</sup>, 22<sup>b</sup> and 23<sup>b</sup>. Whether they are identical with goddess I is doubtful, since there is no symbolic reference to water in these passages. Besides, the hieroglyphs of other known deities occur each time in the above-mentioned places, so that definite mythologic relations must be assumed to exist here between the women represented and the deities in question. Thus in Dr. 9<sup>c</sup> we find D's sign, in 15<sup>b</sup> that of H; on 18<sup>a</sup>, 22<sup>b</sup> and 23<sup>b</sup> we see only the general sign for a woman. In Dr. 20<sup>a</sup> the signs are effaced.

In the Codex Troano goddess I occurs on pp. 25<sup>b</sup> and 27; there is also a woman with the knotted serpent on her head in Tro. 34<sup>a</sup>. In the Codex Cortesianus and in the Paris manuscript these forms are wholly lacking.

#### K. The God with the Ornamented Nose.



42.



43.

This god, as already mentioned in connection with B, is not identical with the latter, but is probably closely related to him. His hieroglyph is Fig. 42; Fig. 43 is the form in the Madrid manuscript. He is closely related to god B. He is represented in Dr. 25 (centre) where he is perhaps conceived of as a priest wearing a mask with the face of the god, also in Dr. 7<sup>a</sup>, 12<sup>a</sup> (with his own hieroglyph and that of E!), 26 (bottom) with a variant of the sign. His figure without the hieroglyph occurs in Dr. 3. Very frequently the well-known group, 3 Oc, is given with him and in connection with his hieroglyph (in Dr. 3, 7<sup>a</sup>, 10<sup>b</sup> (right); without picture, 12<sup>a</sup>). Förstemann (*Drei Maya-*

hieroglyphen, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1901. pp 215-221) sees in this the sign for good days, a proof that we have to do here with a benevolent deity well disposed to mankind, his kinship with B being also in favor of this interpretation. His hieroglyph alone without his picture occurs in Dr. 10<sup>b</sup>, 49 (middle and bottom), 58 (bottom, left), and Tro. 8<sup>\*b</sup>; with a variant of the attribute in Dr. 24 (third vertical row). A slight variation appears also in Dr. 69 (top, right).

In Dr. 65<sup>a</sup> (middle) B is pictured. But in the text we see K's hieroglyph presented by a hand. The next figure on the same page at the right represents god B with the head of K on his own and the same head once more in his hand. Agreeing with this, we find in the accompanying text the signs of B and K, the latter in a hand. K seems to be pictured again in Dr. 46 (bottom); the passage, however, is somewhat obliterated. The hieroglyph is lacking in this place; it is found, however, on the preceding page 45 (middle).

In addition to the passage already mentioned, which represents god K together with B, such double deities again occur in the Paris manuscript, p. 13, where B holds K's head in his hand; in Dr. 34<sup>b</sup>, where he carries this head on his own and in Dr. 67<sup>a</sup> where he appears to carry it in a rope. Once, however, a variation of these plainly synonymous representations occurs, namely in Dr. 49 (at the top), where we see a *feminine* form above whose head rises the head of god K. In the Paris manuscript, so far as its defaced condition permits us to recognize the representation, K occurs very frequently, as for example, in Per. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 9 (in part only his head is given, presented by god B, as in the Dresden manuscript).

Brinton considers this figure simply as a special manifestation of B and identical with that god. Förstemann thinks that god K is a storm-deity, whose ornamental nose, according to the conventional mode of drawing of the Central American peoples, is intended to represent the blast of the storm.

Apparently, however, the deity has an *astronomic significance* and seems to symbolize a *star*. In favor of this is the fact, that on the so-called initial pages of the Madrid manuscript (Cort. 22-Tro. 36) a row, composed of repetitions of his sign, occurs below the signs of the cardinal points and parallel

to a row composed of signs of god C, the god of the polar star and the north. The hieroglyphs of C and K are the only hieroglyphs of gods, which are repeated 13 times on these pages with the 13 days enumerated there. The two gods must, therefore, have either a parallel or an opposite astronomic and calendric meaning. The fact that in Dr. 25 and 26 K appears as regent of the year, is an argument in favor of his astronomic significance.

According to Förstemann, Muluc is the day dedicated to god K.

In the head of god K we recognize the ornament so common in the temple ruins of Central America — the so-called "elephant's trunk." The peculiar, conventionalized face, with the projecting proboscis-shaped nose, which is applied chiefly to the corners of temple walls, displays unquestionably the features of god K. The significance of god K in this architectural relation is unknown. Some connection with his character as the deity of a star and with his astronomic qualities may, however, be assumed, since, as we know, the temple structures of Central America are always placed with reference to the cardinal points.

#### L. The Old, Black God.



God L's features are those of an old man with sunken, toothless mouth. His hieroglyph is Fig. 44, which is characterized by the black face.

God L, who is also black, must not be confounded with M whose description follows. L is represented and designated by his hieroglyph in the accompanying text, in Dr. 14<sup>b</sup> and 14<sup>c</sup> and Dr. 46<sup>b</sup>; the figure has the characteristic black face. He appears entirely black in Dr. 7<sup>a</sup>. The hieroglyph alone occurs in Dr. 21<sup>b</sup> and 24 (third vertical line in the first passage) with a variation, namely without the Ymix-sign before the head. This deity does not occur in the Madrid and Paris manuscripts.

The significance of god L does not appear from the few pictures, which are given of him. In Dr. 46<sup>b</sup> the god is pictured armed and in warlike attitude. Both in Dr. 14<sup>b</sup> and 14<sup>c</sup> he wears a bird on his head and has a Kan in his hand.

According to Förstemann, his day is Akbal, darkness, night.

Cyrus Thomas (*Aids to the Study of the Maya Codices*, in the 6th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1888, p. 358) thinks he is the god Ekchuah, who has come down to us as a black deity. God M seems, however, to correspond to Ekchuah (see the description of M).

#### M. The Black God with the Red Lips.



God M's hieroglyph is Figs. 45, 46; it seems to represent an eye rimmed with black, though the figure of the god himself displays an entirely different drawing of the eye (see Fig. 47).

The god is found in the Dresden manuscript only three times, namely in Dr. 16<sup>b</sup> (with a bone in his hand) in picture and sign, in Dr. 13<sup>c</sup> grouped with an animal, without the hieroglyph, and in Dr. 43<sup>a</sup> (with his sign) while finally his hieroglyph alone appears in Dr. 56 (top, left) in a group and of a somewhat different form.

On the other hand, god M appears with special frequency in the Madrid manuscript, which treats of this deity with great fullness of detail. While he is represented in the Dresden manuscript (16<sup>b</sup>) with his body striped black and white, and on p. 43<sup>a</sup> entirely white, he is always entirely black in the Codex Troano. His other distinguishing marks are the following:

1. The mouth encircled by a red-brown border.
2. The large, drooping under lip. By this he can be recognized with certainty also in Dr. 43<sup>a</sup>.
3. The two curved lines at the right of the eye.

His significance can be conjectured. He seems to be of a war-like nature, for he is almost always represented armed with the lance and also as engaged in combat and, in some instances, pierced by the lance of his opponent, god F, for example in Tro. 3e, 7a, 29\*a. The peculiar object with parallel stripes, which he wears on his head is a rope from which a package frequently hangs. By means of a rope placed around his head the god frequently carries a bale of merchandise, as is the custom today among the aborigines in different parts of America. On 4b and 5a in the Cod. Tro. this can plainly be seen. All these pictures lead us to conclude, that we have here to do with a god of *travelling merchants*. A deity of this character called Ekchuah has been handed down to us, who is designated explicitly as a *black* god. In favor of this is also the fact, that he is represented fighting with F and pierced by the latter. For the travelling merchant must, of course, be armed to ward off hostile attacks and these are admirably symbolized by god F, for he is the god of death in war and of the killing of the captured enemy. The god is found in the Codex Troano in the following places and on many pages two or three times: pp. 2, 3, 4, 5, always with the hieroglyph, then without it on pp. 6, 7, 19, 4\*c, 14\*b, 17\*a, 18\*b and again with the hieroglyph on pp. 22\*a, 23\*a, 25\*a; finally it is found again without the hieroglyph on pp. 29\*a, 30\*a, 31\*, 32\*, 33\*, 34\*. In the Codex Cortesianus god M occurs in the following places: p. 15, where he strikes the sky with the axe and thus causes rain, p. 19 (bottom), 28 (bottom, second figure), 34 (bottom) and 36 (top). M is always to be recognized by the encircled mouth and the drooping under-lip; figures without these marks are not identical with M, thus for example in Tro. 23, 24, 25, 21\*. Tro. 34\*a shows what is apparently a variant of M with the face of an old man, the scorpion's tail and the vertebrae of the death-god, a figure which in its turn bears on its breast the plainly recognizable head of M. God M is also represented elsewhere many times with the scorpion's tail, thus for example on Tro. 30\*a, 31\*a.

Besides his hieroglyph mentioned above, Figs. 45 and 46, another sign seems to refer to god M, namely Fig. 48 (compare for example Tro. 5a and Cort. 28, bottom). The head in this sign has the same curved lines at the corner of the eye as appear

on the deity himself. Förstemann mentions this sign in his Commentary on the Paris Manuscript, p. 15, and in his Commentary on the Dresden Manuscript, p. 56. He thinks the hieroglyph has relation to the revolution of Venus, which is performed in 584 days. A relation of this kind is, I think, very possible, if we bear in mind that all the god-figures of the manuscripts have more or less of a calendric and chronologic significance in their chief or in their secondary function.

It should be mentioned that God M is represented as a rule as an old man with toothless jaw or the characteristic solitary tooth. That he is also related to bee-culture is shown by his presence on p. 4\*<sup>c</sup> of the Codex Troano, in the section on bees.

Besides gods L and M, a few quite isolated black figures occur in the Codex Troano, who, apparently, are identical with neither of these two deities, but are evidently of slight importance and perhaps are only variants of other deities. Similar figures of black deities are found in the Codex Tro. 23, 24 and 25 (perhaps this is a black variant of B as god of the storm?) and on 21\*<sup>c</sup> we twice see a black form with the aged face and the solitary tooth in the under jaw (perhaps only a variant of M). In the Codex Cortesianus and in the Dresden manuscript no other black deities occur, but in the Paris manuscript a black deity seems to be pictured once (p. 21, bottom).

According to Brinton (Nagualism, Philadelphia 1894, pp. 21, 39), there is among the Tzendals in addition to Ekchuah, a second black deity called Xicalahua, "black lord".

#### N. The God of the End of the Year.



We have here a deity with the features of an old man and wearing a peculiar head ornament reproduced in Fig. 50, which contains the sign for the year of 360 days. The god's hieroglyph is Fig. 49, which consists of the numeral 5 with the sign of the month Zac. Förstemann has recognized in god N the god of the five Uayeyab days, which were added as intercalary

days at the end of the original year of 360 days, and were considered unlucky days. N is, therefore, the god of the end of the year. Förstemann has discussed him in detail under this title in a monograph published in *Globus*, Vol. 80, No. 12. It is still open to question whether god N actually occurs in all the places of the Dresden manuscript, which are mentioned by Förstemann. He can be recognized positively on Dr. 17<sup>a</sup>, 21<sup>c</sup> (grouped with a woman) and 37<sup>a</sup>; also on 12<sup>c</sup>, but in this latter place with pronounced deviations from the usual representations. The figures in Dr. 23<sup>c</sup> (first group) and 43<sup>a</sup> (third picture) are doubtful, especially since the hieroglyph of the god is lacking in both instances. The third group in Dr. 21<sup>c</sup> is equally dubious. Here a woman is pictured sitting opposite a god. The latter seems to be god N, yet in the text we find instead of his sign the hieroglyph given in Fig. 51. It is not impossible that this sign likewise denotes god N.

God N is found a few times in the Paris manuscript, for example on p. 4, where he holds K's head in his hands, and on p. 22.

#### O. A Goddess with the Features of an Old Woman.



52.

This goddess occurs only in the Madrid manuscript and is distinguished by the solitary tooth in the under jaw, as a sign of age, the invariable characteristic of aged persons in the manuscripts. She is pictured in the following places: Tro. 5<sup>\*c</sup>, 6<sup>\*b</sup>, and 11<sup>\*b, c</sup> and <sup>d</sup>, Cort. 10<sup>b</sup>, 11<sup>a</sup>, 38<sup>a</sup>. In Tro. 11<sup>\*</sup> she is represented working at a loom. She does not appear at all in the Dresden and Paris manuscripts. The figures of women mentioned under I with the serpent on their heads, are especially not to be regarded as identical with goddess O, for she never wears the serpent, but a tuft of hair bound high up on her head and running out in two locks.

Her hieroglyph is Fig. 52; it is distinguished by the wrinkles of age about the eye. Owing to the limited number of her pictures, there is little to be said concerning the significance of this goddess.

**P. The Frog-God.**

58.

We call him the frog-god because in the Codex Tro. 31, he is pictured in the first and second lines with the club-shaped fingers of a frog, which occur only on this figure. The blue background, which is his attribute twice in the same passage, likewise points to a connection with water, and that the god also has something to do with agriculture may be deduced from the fact that he is pictured sowing seed and making furrows with the planting-stick. The two black parallel stripes at the corner of the eye seem to be folds of skin or marks on the skin, which may represent a peculiarity of this particular species of frog. His head ornament is very characteristic and contains the sign for the year of 360 days. He therefore bears some unknown relation also to the computation of time. It should be recalled in this connection that one of the Maya months is called Uo, frog. The god is pictured again in Tro. 30<sup>a</sup> and <sup>b</sup>, Tro. 22 (top, scattering seed) and Cort. 5 (at the very bottom, the figure lying down). Finally his neck ornament must be mentioned, which, as a rule, consists of a neck-chain with pointed, oblong or pronged objects, probably shells.

In the Dresden manuscript he occurs but once, Dr. 4<sup>a</sup> (first figure), with some variations it is true. The text at this place contains H's hieroglyph. God P does not occur in the Peresianus.

His hieroglyph is Fig. 53. It occurs in Tro. 31 (top) and can be unerringly recognized by the two black parallel stripes at the corner of the eye, which correspond exactly to the same marks on the face of the picture of the god himself.

This is all that can be said respecting this deity from the pictures in the manuscripts. Its meaning is obscure. Seler's assumption that god P is Kukulcan (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1898, p. 403) has certainly very slight foundation, and in view



of the material from the manuscripts described in the preceding pages, it is in the highest degree improbable.

\*   \*  
\*

The foregoing is an almost complete enumeration of the god-figures proper in the Maya manuscripts. Whatever other figures of gods occur in the manuscripts are details of slight importance. This is especially true of the Dresden manuscript, which is well nigh exhausted by the types enumerated here; there may be, I think, a few figures still undescribed in the Madrid manuscript, the careless drawing of which renders the identification very difficult. An isolated figure of the Dresden manuscript still remains to be mentioned, concerning which it is doubtful whether it is intended to represent a deity or only a human personage.

This is the figure characterized by a peculiar head ornament in Dr. 20<sup>b</sup>. It is designated in the text by two hieroglyphs, which belong together, Figs. 54 and 55, the latter occurring once with K (Dr. 7<sup>a</sup>). It seems to represent blowing from the mouth, screaming or speaking.



## II. MYTHOLOGICAL ANIMALS.

### 1. THE MOAN BIRD.



This bird<sup>1</sup> belongs to the death-god as his symbol and attendant. Its hieroglyph (Fig. 56) contains the numeral 13; other forms are Figs. 57-59. It is pictured in Dr. 7<sup>a</sup>, 10<sup>a</sup>, 11<sup>a</sup>, 16<sup>c</sup>, 18<sup>b</sup>, and its hieroglyph without the picture is seen in Dr. 8<sup>b</sup>. A realistic representation of the whole figure of the moan as a bird, occurs on the head of the woman in 16<sup>c</sup> (1st figure) and 18<sup>b</sup>. God B sits on the head of the moan in Dr. 38<sup>c</sup>; the third hieroglyph of the accompanying text refers to this representation. Just as in Dr. 16 and 18, the moan bird appears in Tro. 18<sup>a</sup> on the head of a woman. Its character as an attribute of the death-god is expressed by the Cimi-sign, which it wears upon its head (*e. g.*, Dr. 10<sup>a</sup>), and also by the regular occurrence of symbols of the death-god in the written characters, which refer to the moan bird. In the same manner the sign of the owl, Fig. 5, also occurs frequently with it.

The moan confers name and symbol alike on one of the eighteen months of the Maya year, and thus, as Förstemann conjectures (*Die Plejaden bei den Mayas*, in *Globus*, 1894), has an astronomic bearing on the constellation of the Pleiades.

According to Brinton the moan is a member of the falcon family and its zoological name is *Spizactus tyrannus*.

<sup>1</sup> See plate for representations of the Mythological Animals, 1-6.

## 2. THE SERPENT.

This is one of the most common and most important mythological animals, and is closely related to different deities, as has already been more fully discussed in connection with the individual cases. Apparently it has no *independent* significance as a deity. Its most important personification is that in god B, Kukulcan, the feathered serpent. Hence a fixed hieroglyph designating the serpent as a deity, as a mythologic form, does not occur, though there are numerous hieroglyphs which refer to serpents or represent individual parts of the serpent, as its coils, its jaws, the rattles of the rattlesnake, etc. The serpent appears in the mythologic conceptions of the Mayas chiefly as the symbol of water and of time. In the great series of numbers of the Dresden manuscript, certain numbers occur which are introduced in the coils of a large serpent (compare in regard to this, Förstemann, *Zur Entzifferung der Mayahandschriften*, II, Dresden, 1891). The serpent is very frequently represented in all the manuscripts, sometimes realistically and sometimes with the head of a god, etc. In the Dresden manuscript it occurs in the following places: 1<sup>a</sup>, 26, 27, 28<sup>c</sup>, 35<sup>b</sup>, 36<sup>a</sup>, 36<sup>b</sup>, 37<sup>b</sup>, 40, 42<sup>a</sup>, 61, 62, 65<sup>c</sup>, 66<sup>a</sup> and 69. It is prominent also in the Madrid manuscript, occurring for example in Cort. 4-6, 12-18, Tro. 25, 26, 27 and elsewhere.

## 3. THE DOG.



60

Fig. 60 is its hieroglyph. It is the symbol of the death-god and the bearer of the lightning. The latter follows quite clearly from the picture in Dr. 40<sup>b</sup> where the god is distinguished by its hieroglyph. This animal is again represented in Dr. 7<sup>a</sup>, 13<sup>c</sup> on the right, 21<sup>b</sup> with its hieroglyph, 29<sup>a</sup>, 30<sup>a</sup> (forming a part of 31<sup>a</sup>, where god B holds the bound dog by the tail), and 39<sup>a</sup> without the hieroglyph, 47 (bottom) with a variant of the hieroglyph.

In Dr. 36<sup>a</sup> the dog bears the Akbal-sign on its forehead. The writing above it contains a variant of the hieroglyph for the

dog; this is the third of the rubric. It shows (somewhat difficult of recognition) the Akbal-sign on the forehead of the dog's head occurring in it, and on the back of the head the Kin-sign, as symbols of the alternation of day and night. The same sign occurs again with adjuncts in Dr. 74 (last line, 2nd sign) and once with the *death-god* in Dr. 8<sup>a</sup>. The dog as lightning-beast occurs with the Akbal-sign in the eye instead of on the forehead in Codex Tro. 23<sup>aa</sup>; here again its hieroglyph is an entirely different one (the third of the rubric).

That the dog belongs to the death-god is proved beyond a doubt by the regular recurrence in the writing belonging to the dog, of the hieroglyphs, which relate to this deity, especially of Fig. 5. According to Förstemann his day is Oc.

#### 4. THE VULTURE.



61.

This bird is distinctly pictured as a mythological figure in Dr. 8<sup>a</sup>. It appears again, in feminine form, together with the dog, in Dr. 13<sup>c</sup> and also in 19<sup>a</sup>. In the first passage, its hieroglyph is almost effaced; the hieroglyph is very striking and occurs nowhere else in the whole collection of manuscripts. The body of this animal-deity is striped black and white; in Dr. 38<sup>b</sup> it is almost entirely black. The same passage displays a second hieroglyph for this figure (Fig. 61); this hieroglyph also occurs with the numeral 4 in Dr. 56<sup>b</sup>. In Dr. 36<sup>b</sup> this bird of prey is pictured fighting with the serpent; its hieroglyph occurs in the second form; the serpent is designated by the Chuen, the gaping jaws of the serpent (first character of the rubric).

Finally it should be mentioned that the head of this bird occurs frequently as a head ornament, thus in Dr. 11<sup>a</sup>, 11<sup>b</sup>, 12<sup>b</sup> and 14<sup>b</sup>. Mention should also be made of the realistic representations of the vulture, eating the eye of a human sacrifice (Dr. 3, Tro. 26<sup>aa</sup> and 27<sup>aa</sup>).

According to Förstemann his day is Cib.

## 5. THE JAGUAR.

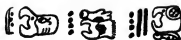


62.

The jaguar is likewise an animal with mythological significance. It is represented in Dr. 8<sup>a</sup>, where its hieroglyph is the third sign in the writing; it also occurs in Dr. 26 (at the top). It occurs in Tro. 17 (at the end) with a hieroglyph which represents the jaguar's head and contains the numeral 4 (Fig. 62); again it appears without a hieroglyph on p. 20 (bottom) and on 21 and 22 (bottom).

Its day is IX, and hence it also relates occasionally as year regent to the IX years, for example in Dr. 26<sup>a</sup>.

## 6. THE TORTOISE.



63.

64.

65.

This animal, like the dog, appears as a lightning-beast (see Dr. 40<sup>b</sup>, middle). Its hieroglyph is Figs. 63, 64. This sign also is connected with the numeral 4, which occurs so often with animals (but not alone with quadrupeds) as to be worthy of attention. The sign of the tortoise without the numeral is seen in Cort. 17<sup>a</sup>, where the tortoise itself is also represented. It must have reference to the 17th month of the Maya year, for the month Kayab (and apparently also Pop) contains the head of the tortoise (compare Fig. 65). It occurs several times in the Cortesianus, thus on pp. 13, 19, 37, 38; on p. 19 with the hieroglyph (on the top of the lower half of the page, 1st line and at the right of the margin). In Dr. 69 (at the top) we see the sign of the tortoise with the Kin-sign as its eye and the numeral 12; under this group B, with a black body, is seated on the serpent; on the same page the sign occurs again; each time, moreover, apparently as a month-hieroglyph.

According to Förstemann the tortoise is the symbol of the summer solstice, as the *snail*, which occurs only as a head ornament in the manuscripts and not independently, is the symbol of the winter solstice; both, as the animals of slowest motion, represent the apparent standstill of the sun at the periods specified. This explains why the month Kayab, in which the summer solstice falls, should be represented by the head of a tortoise, which has for its eye the sun-sign Kin (Förstemann, *Zur Entzifferung der Mayahandschriften III, Schildkröte und Schnecke in der Mayaliteratur*, Dresden 1892).

According to Förstemann its day is Cauac.

Finally the *owl* and the *ape* (or monkey) must be mentioned as animals of mythologic significance, of which we have already spoken in connection with gods A and C. The *scorpion* also seems to have an important mythologic significance, and appears in the manuscripts in connection with figures of gods, as, for example, in Cort. 7\* and Tro. 31\*, 33\*, 34\* (god M with a scorpion's tail). In addition to those discussed in this paper, there are a few animals in the manuscripts, which probably also have a partial mythologic significance, but which have been omitted because they are represented in a naturalistic manner, thus, for example, the deer on Tro. 8, et seq., while idealization (with human bodies, with torches, hieroglyphic character on the head, etc.) should be considered as an unmistakable sign of mythologic meaning.

A mythologic significance also seems to belong to the *bee* which plays so prominent a part of the Codex Troano. Probably the section in question of the Madrid manuscript (1\* et seq.) treats of bee-keeping, but incidentally it certainly has to do also with the mythologic conceptions connected with the culture of bees.

The *bat* which is found as a mythological figure on pottery vessels and inscriptions from the Maya region (compare Seler, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1894, p. 577) does not occur in the manuscripts. It is true, however, that hieroglyphic signs, which seem to relate to the head of the bat, occur in isolated cases in the manuscripts.

## SUMMARY.

An enumeration of the most important deities in the manuscripts gives the following results, in connection with which it is to be noted that, of course, the numbers cannot be absolutely correct, because one or another of the pictures occasionally remains doubtful. As far as possible, however, only the *positively* determined representations have been considered.

The deity occurring most frequently in the DRESDEN MANUSCRIPT is god B, who is pictured there 141 times. Following him in point of number in the same manuscript are the death-god A pictured 33 times, god D 19 times, and gods C and E 17 and 14 times respectively.

In the MADRID MANUSCRIPT, god D, with 84 pictures, is of most frequent occurrence. He is followed by the maize-god E with 76 pictures, god B with 71, god A with 53, C with 38 and M with 37 pictures.

In the PARIS MANUSCRIPT, god E's picture can be verified 8 times, those of C and B 6 times each and that of god A twice; N and K are also frequently represented.

An enumeration of all the pictures in all the manuscripts shows that the following deities occur most frequently and are therefore to be considered the most important:

1.	God	B:	pictured	218	times.
2.	"	D:	"	103	"
3.	"	E:	"	98	"
4.	"	A:	"	88	"
5.	"	C:	"	61	"
6.	"	M:	"	40	"
7.	"	F:	"	33	"

Furthermore, interesting conclusions can be arrived at, by means of a list of those deities, who occur in the representations of the manuscripts, so *united* or *grouped together* as to make it evident that they must stand in some relation to one another. *Mythologic combinations* of this kind occur among the following deities and mythological animals:

1. In the DRESDEN MANUSCRIPT: D and C, B and C, dog and vulture, bird and serpent, B and K.

2. In the MADRID MANUSCRIPT: F and M, B and M, C and M, E and M, A and E, A and D, A and F, B and C, D and C, D and E.

3. In the PARIS MANUSCRIPT: N and K, B and K.

The most common of these combinations are those of the deities A and F, M and F, A and E, D and C. These groups are entirely intelligible, consisting of death-god and war-god, god of the travelling merchants and war-god, death-god and maize-god (as adversaries; meaning famine), night-god and deity of the polar star.



I. GODS.



A



B



C



D



E



F



G



H



I



K



L



M



N



O



P

II. MYTHOLOGICAL ANIMALS.



1



2



3



4



5



6

PAPERS  
OF THE  
PEABODY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND  
ETHNOLOGY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

VOL. IV. — No. 2

COMMENTARY  
ON THE  
MAYA MANUSCRIPT  
IN THE  
ROYAL PUBLIC LIBRARY OF DRESDEN

BY  
DR. ERNST FÖRSTEMANN

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TRANSLATED BY  
MISS SELMA WESSELHOEPT  
AND  
MISS A. M. PARKER

Translation revised by the Author

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## NOTE

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IN pursuance of the plan of publishing translations of valuable contributions to the study of the Maya hieroglyphs, the Museum Committee on Central American Research has the pleasure of offering the following translation of Dr. Ernst Förstemann's important Commentary on the Maya Manuscript in the Royal Library of Dresden, generally known as the Dresden Codex.

The translation by Miss Selma Wesselhoeft and Miss A. M. Parker was made under the direction of Mr. Charles P. Bowditch of the Museum Committee.

In the original German edition, published in 1901, Dr. Förstemann used the Arabic numerals to designate the days, but in this translation, with the consent of the author who has kindly revised the translation, Mr. Bowditch has substituted the corresponding Maya names of the days, in uniformity with the general use of students in this country. It is needless to call attention to the importance of this paper by Dr. Förstemann whose long-continued study of the intricate system of hieroglyphic writing by the ancient Mayas makes all he writes of great value to students engaged in this most interesting research.

F. W. PUTNAM

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,  
October, 1906.

## PREFACE.

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SOME of those who examine this book will say, that it is too early for a commentary on the "Dresdensis," since Maya research is yet in its infancy, and this opinion is certainly justified inasmuch as a final explanation of that remarkable monument is, of course, impossible at the present time. On the other hand the accounts of the numerous investigations and discoveries which have been made thus far are so isolated and so scattered in the shape of a hundred short magazine articles, that it is certainly desirable to have what we know and what we have still to learn gathered together under one head. This book is intended, therefore, to give an idea of the state of our knowledge in this department of research at this time, when the nineteenth century is passing into the twentieth, with the definite expectation that this work will soon be far outstripped and will possess an historical value only.

The contents of the following pages are of very little value, unless the student can compare them with an edition of the manuscript. My first edition was published in 1880 at Leipsic and the second at Dresden in 1892. The edition in Lord Kingsborough's "Mexican Antiquities" (in Volume III of that work, London, 1831) is still of practical use.

And since in this work I must premise a knowledge of the elements of the subject, I would recommend, as additional aids to the comprehension of the following pages, my "Erläuterungen zur Mayahandschrift der Königlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden" (Dresden, 1886), and also Brinton, "A Primer of Mayan Hieroglyphics" (in the publications of the University of Pennsylvania. Series in Philology, Literature and Archaeology, Vol. III). I would also mention the very valuable work by

Paul Schellhas, "Die Göttergestalten der Mayahandschriften" (Dresden, 1897), which I follow in the designation of the various gods by letters of the alphabet.

It need hardly be pointed out, that the numerous pioneer articles by Edward Seler offer abundant instruction to the student in this field as well as in that of Aztec remains.

I wish to express heartfelt thanks to Mrs. Zelia Nuttall and Mr. Charles P. Bowditch, who have aided my work in various ways and have thus rendered possible the publication of this book.

E. FÖRSTEMANN.

CHARLOTTENBURG.

## FIRST PART.

### Pages 1 — 45.

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#### Page 1.

As the first page is almost entirely effaced by abrasion, we know very little of its contents. Like the second, however, it was doubtless divided into four parts. The two pages have this also in common, that, for lack of space, their contents are not expressed in full, but abbreviated as much as possible.

The top section (a) of page 1 may have been filled with a sort of frontispiece, perhaps a face with a few signs around it.

The three lower sections (b, c, d,) with the three lower of the second page doubtless formed a whole. Each of these sections contained a normal Tonalamatl of the commonest kind, which was introduced on the left by five day-signs having a difference of 12 and was thus divided into five sections of 52 days each. In sections b and d, at least, these periods seem to be divided into equal halves of 26 days each. In d alone we recognize the initial week day, VII, of the Tonalamatl. In each of the three divisions there were two figures of gods, but we can recognize only the first of these in section d as the god D.

#### Page 2.

This page contains four much abbreviated Tonalamatls. In the following I will represent each Tonalamatl by setting down in a vertical line those of the twenty days with which the principal divisions of equal length of the Tonalamatl begin, in a horizontal line with Roman numerals the days of the week of thirteen days on which the separate subdivisions begin, and with the Arabic numerals the distance between these days. I will also remark that the position of the Tonalamatls in the "Dresdensis" is not connected at all, as in the Aztec, with certain places in the

year, and that no rule for this proceeding can be found. It is curious, however, that no Tonalamatl in this codex begins with the day IX or Eb, which is the more important in the last pages of the Dresden Codex.

## 2 a.

This first Tonalamatl has the following form:—

XIII 5 V 12 IV 11 II 12 I 12 XIII

Cauac	The hieroglyphs and the figures show that
Chuen	preparations for a human sacrifice are treated of
Akbal	here and that the subject is, therefore, closely
Men	connected with page 3a, where the sacrifice itself
Manik.	is represented.

There are but two pictures of persons, which refer, therefore, only to the first or to the first two subdivisions and which, for lack of space, are wanting for the others. On the left walks the person doomed to sacrifice, his arms are bound on his back, his head is barely visible and his eyes are apparently torn out. There is an object in front of his breast resembling a wreath. Behind this figure crouches a second, who holds an object in his hand which probably represents a rattle. The parallel passage in Cod. Tro. 2b shows the bound prisoner with an axe behind him. Then follows in Tro. 3b the prisoner without a head and behind him the black god with gory lance.

The hieroglyphs—four for each of the five subdivisions—are arranged in the following order:—

1	2	5	6	9	13	17
3	4	7	8	10	14	18
				11	15	19
				12	16	20.

Of these 9, 13 and 17–20 are wholly effaced and 14 for the most part. The very first group refers to human sacrifice, for 1 is a head with an axe affixed to it, 2 contains the hand (i) which so often appears as the sign of grasping, especially in representations of the chase; here it has the same superfix as on page 22a, which on pages 4a–10a and 11a,b, appears as prefix. 3 is the



head of god H, perhaps given here as a symbol of wounding (serpent god?). I am unable to explain the meaning of the dot between two crosses in front of this head; perhaps the sign denotes the day Kan, which is here arrived at by calculation. We find the same hieroglyph on page 3. Sign 4 signifies the death-god A=Cimi, who appears again in 12.

In like manner 2 is repeated in 6 and 14. 7, 11 and 15 (probably also 19) are, however, the familiar cross *b*; 8 is the head of E with a prefixed knife; the intention here may have been to show that human sacrifice would be likely to have an auspicious influence upon the harvest. 10 and 16 are another unknown head. In 5 we see the familiar Kan-Imix sign, which, for the present, I am inclined to regard as denoting a feast or a sacrificial meal.

### 2 b — c.

These two sections have something in common. First, 2b (as also 2d) is divided into but two parts and 2c into only three parts. Second, in 2b and 2c the scribe intended to draw the hieroglyphs for 10 days each, instead of 5 each, but only drew the outlines of the second five, since they could not be used for these Tonalamatls. Third, the persons represented here are all engaged in the same occupation, each holding in his hands an object which looks like a frame for a net or web, and also a large needle with an eye through which a thread has been passed.

A very similar representation is found in the Codex Troano 34a, 33a and 23\*c, and also in the Sahagun Manuscript of the Bibliotheca Laurentiana at Florence. This can hardly mean anything else than the knotting of cords, which was the only method of casting lots current among the Mayas; compare Seler, "Altmexikanische Studien II" (1899), p. 31, and "Zauberei im alten Mexiko" (1900), p. 90, by the same author. This clearly indicates the use of these Tonalamatls in soothsaying.

Fourth and last, each of the five hieroglyph groups of 2b and 2c begin with the same sign, which must, therefore, denote the casting of lots.

The Tonalamatl 2b runs thus:—

XI 34 VI 18 XI

Oc The pictures are of three persons. At the left  
Ik two sit facing one another and at the right is the  
Ix god A. Of the first two, the one at the left is  
Cimi probably feminine, but with an old face. I am  
Ezanab. inclined here, in spite of the sex, to recall the bald-  
headed old god (N, according to Schellhas), whom I am inclined  
to consider, for the present, the representative of the 5 Uayeyab  
days at the end of the year. This would account for the sign  
resembling an 8 lying on its side, which appears on the god's  
head and which usually represents the change of the year (com-  
pare pages 38a, 41b, 52b, 68a and 72c). I cannot explain the  
person sitting facing this god further, than that from his hiero-  
glyph he is either H or allied to H.

Of the 8 hieroglyphs

1	2	5	6
3	4	7	8

the first, as stated, seems to refer to the casting of lots, 2 is the  
sign for H, 3 denotes the female figure pictured beneath it, and  
4 is the sign *q* with the Ben-Ik on top of it. In the second  
group 5 is the same as 1, 6 is the cross *b*, and 7 and 8 are the  
hieroglyphs for A.

2c contains the following Tonalamatl:—

III 20 X 17 I 15 III

Oc There are illustrations for only the first two of  
Ik the three subdivisions; the two figures composing  
Ix them are engaged in the occupation mentioned  
Cimi under 2b. At the left sits a deity, who is probably  
Ezanab. E, whose head develops into a second, which is  
that of an animal; on the right sits the god D.

The three groups of four hieroglyphs each are arranged as  
follows:—

1	2	5	6	9
3	4	7	8	10
				11
				12.

Of these hieroglyphs 1, 5 and 9 are the head already numbered 1 and 5 on 2b; 2, 6 and 10 are the cross *b*; 3, 7 and 11 are three different heads, all, as it seems, having the Akbal sign, and 11 having also the numeral 6. 4 is again (see 5 on 2a above) the Kan-Imix sign, 8 a Kin with suffix (the east?) and the numeral 16 as prefix; finally 12 is Cimi (A). Do the numbers 16 and 6 refer to the 16th and 6th of the 17 and 15 days standing below them? The beginning of this Tonalamatl III Oc seems to me to fall on an especially auspicious day (hieroglyph *a*).

2d has the following Tonalamatl:—

XIII 28 II 24 XIII

**Lamat** This refers probably to the section devoted to  
**Ahau** women, pages 13-23. For the picture on the left  
**Eb** is a woman sitting and holding an unknown object  
**Kan** in one hand; on her right stands the death-god A  
**Cib.** holding in his hands what may be an apron or  
 breech-clout; there is a similar representation in Cod. Tro. 29\*b.

The hieroglyphs are

1	2	5	6
3	4	7	8.

Of these 1, 6 and 8 are one of the signs of A, 7 another, and 4 may be a third, recalling the Moan, which, as on page 14c, rests on a hand held beneath it. 2 and 5 seem to signify a carpet or other fabric (or a lying-in bed?), on the one hand suggesting the occupation of the figures in 2b and 2c, and on the other the checkered hieroglyph, which is so common in the Palenque inscriptions. Finally 3 is the woman pictured beneath.

### Page 3.

We come now to the sacrificial scene proper, which practically fills the upper half of the page. The victim, a woman, lies bound hand and foot, on the sacrificial stone, just as in the Cortes. 41-42; the incision above the stomach is already made and the eyes are closed. Behind her rises the tree of life with a bird (vulture?) sitting in its branches, which holds in its bill one end of an object, resembling a ribbon (entrails) issuing from the eyes of the victim, just as in Tro. 26\*a and 27\*a.

This picture is surrounded by four gods, who, however, differ very much from the other four in the second sacrificial scene, page 34a. At the right above is K, who, I think, is the storm-god; the figure at the left above is almost entirely destroyed, and its hieroglyph wholly; I prefer to consider it a rain deity, so that these two gods shall signify the productive season. The two gods below may refer to the blessing upon the harvest and chase resulting from the season and the sacrifice. For, at the left below, we see the maize deity E, holding a dish of fruit, while her head-ornament contains a second head. At the right below sits the serpent deity H and in front of him is an animal with the noose still around its neck, with which it was caught.

The hieroglyphs are in the following order:—

1	2	5	6	9	10	13	14
3	4	7	8	11	12	15	16
		17	18		21	22	
		19	20		23	24	

Of these, 1-5 are wholly effaced and also the most essential part of 6.

Of these hieroglyphs four (1-4, 13-16, 17-20 and 21-24) clearly belong to each of the four deities, for 15, 18, and 22 (the last again with the dot between two crosses as on page 2a) certainly belong to the picture. From this it seems to follow that Hieroglyphs 5 to 12 refer to the sacrifice itself. As a matter of fact 9 and 11, which are directly above the sacrifice, also refer particularly to that part of the representation.

I wish also to call special attention to the two signs 8 and 16 which seem to correspond to one another. They are the two which I have designated with  $q$  and  $\alpha$ , which are met with here for the first time (aside from the  $q$  with the Ben-Ik, which is not in question here) and which, I think, denote the good and evil days,  $q$  referring to the sacrifice and  $\alpha$  to its results.

In regard to the rest of these hieroglyphs, 7 and 9 are Cimi; 10, 14, 17 and 24 the cross  $b$  and 11 and 23 the hieroglyph  $c$ . 12 is the head with the Akbal eye, having for its prefix the uplifted arm, which is joined thus to the most diverse signs, and which also occurs in the Tro-Cort. 13 is a similiar head, 19 again Kan-

Imix, 20 the sign *o* and 21 a hieroglyph, which is without doubt a simplified head.

Here, too, we have a Tonalamatl, and one beginning on an especially ceremonial day I Ahau, which seems to play the same role in celestial affairs as IV Ahau does in terrestrial matters. On the sacrificial stone we read the days Ahau, Eb, Kan, Cib and Lamat, and I think it likely that the same days occur in the passage of the Cortes, referred to above; the passage evidently contains some errors. The subdivisions of this Tonalamatl are not known to us, for here the manuscript is somewhat confused. I propose to read it as follows:—

I 10 XI 4 II 15 IV 9 XIII 14 I,

but Cyrus Thomas, "Aids," p. 294, has

I 4 V 8 XIII 11 XI 15 XIII 14 I.

Either reading is dubious. The scribe divided the lower half of page 3 into two parts, and drew in each the outline of five days; but then he saw that, to continue his work, he needed a long surface extending from left to right, and he therefore omitted filling in these two sections.

#### Pages 4 a — 10 a.

We have here a normal Tonalamatl, which, however, was evidently meant by the author to serve a very special purpose, since he divided the first section of 52 days into no less than 20 parts of 2, 3 or 4 days. I give the following arrangement here, remarking, at the same time, that in one doubtful case (between the third and fourth groups) I deviate from my former plan:—

X 2, XII 4, III 3, VI 2, VIII 4, XII 2, I 2, III 4, VII 2, IX 2, XI 2, XIII 4, IV 2, VI 3, IX 2, XI 3, I 2, III 3, VI 2, VIII 2, X.

Since the five sections on page 4a begin with the days Imix Ben, Chicchan, Caban, and Muluc, we have resulting from this and from the intervals specified, the following days:—

X Imix, XII Akbal, III Manik, VI Oc, VIII Eb, XII Cib, I Ezanab, III Ahau, VII Kan, IX Cimi, XI Lamat, XIII Oc, IV IX, VI Cib, IX Cauac, XI Imix, I Kan, III Cimi, VI Muluc, VIII Chuen, X Ben.

Now, however, in the "Globus," Vol. LXXIII, in my two articles entitled "Die Tagegötter der Mayas," I have expressed the opinion that there is good reason to believe that the scribe has made a grave mistake here.

I assume that the scribe simply transferred the so-called month days from the year just past to the year in which he was writing, in doing which they were, of course, moved five days on (since  $365 = 20 \times 18 + 5$ ), but he did not bear in mind, that the pictures and the hieroglyphs could then no longer correspond. Hence the days must be not

Imix, Akbal, Manik, Oc, Eb, Cib, Ezanab, Ahau, Kan, Cimi, Lamat, Oc, Ix, Cib, Cauac, Imix, Kan, Cimi, Muluc, Chuen, Ben,  
but

Cib, Ezanab, Ik, Chicchan, Manik, Chuen, Ben, Men, Cauac, Imix, Akbal, Chicchan, Muluc, Chuen, Ix, Cib, Cauac, Imix, Kan, Cimi, Lamat.

Let us now consider the 20 groups, disregarding the first (really zero) which has no figure and no hieroglyphs. We will leave out of the question also the first two hieroglyphs of each group, which are the same twenty times and form, as it were, merely a superscription, in which the first sign is a head, also occurring elsewhere (4b-5b), with suffix and affix, and the second is the hieroglyph *i*, which might readily denote a sacrifice. Thus only the usual four signs remain for each picture.

1. Day 15 = Ezanab; Aztec Tecpatl, flint, lance point. The figure of the god does not correspond with this at all; it is a god in a gala cloak, holding before him a serpent and bearing a quetzal bird on his back. This figure, which resembles none other in our manuscript, strongly recalls Kukulcan, who, in fact, is often placed by the scribes at the head of the 20 Maya gods (cf. Dres. 36) in which manner he appears in this place quite without reference to the day and the hieroglyphs. In this interpretation I follow Seler, in the main, who in his treatise "Quetzalcouatl-Kukulcan in Yucatan" (1898) expresses this opinion on page 403 of the separate edition. But possibly the ear-ornament may refer to Ezanab. Of the hiero-

glyphs, 1 and 2 are the familiar sign of the serpent deities H or I, though here they are not drawn exactly alike. They also appear together on page 6a. 3 (= r) I think is the sign for the week of 13 days, which recurs in groups 5, 11, 14 and 16, and hence is distributed 4 times, though not regularly, among the  $4 \times 13$  days. Sign 4 is the death bird.

2. Day 19 = Ik; Aztec Ehecatl, wind, air, breath. The deity pictured is B, the god who is found the most frequently, and with the most varied attributes, of all the gods in our manuscript. He is the god proper of breathing and living and was, perhaps, the local god in the region where this manuscript originated. The second hieroglyph is his sign; the first, with a prefixed 9, is *p* the third *q* and the fourth *a* with the usual 3 before it; their relations to B are still unknown.

3. Day 3 = Cimi; Aztec Miquiztli, death. The deity with a black line about the mouth is certainly the bald-headed old god N, whom we shall find on pages 12c, 14b, 17a, 21c, and 37a. His hands are much deformed; perhaps indicating the bite of a serpent? Of the hieroglyphs, 1, 2 and 4 are effaced; 3 is surely the sign of the god, differing, it is true, from his usual hieroglyph, but recurring with a 4 also on pages 21c and 24. This 4 might refer to the four kinds of years, but here, perhaps, to the fourth of the five Uayeyab days, and would thus agree with the 24th day of Cumku, which should lie here (in the year 9 Kan), if I have begun the Tonalamatl correctly.

4. Day 4 = Manik; Aztec Mazatl. The significance is stag or roe, game or the chase. The first picture on page 5 is one of the forms of F, which seems to stand here not merely for human sacrifice, but also for war and the chase, and especially for the act of killing in general. Of the hieroglyphs, unfortunately only the fourth can be read in full (the sign *c*), the upper part of the second is the cross *b* and the lower part the sign Ahau; the number 11, which is peculiar to the god F, probably stood before the second sign. Did this god rule the eleventh of the 13 months of 28 days, as Moan ruled the thirteenth?

5. Day 8 = Chuen; Aztec Ozomatli, ape, then probably the constellation of Ursa Minor, and hence belonging to the god C. The figure is unquestionably his, and the first hieroglyph is surely his sign. The other three are the familiar *a*, *o* and *r*.

6. Day 10 = Ben; Aztec Acatl, the fundamental significance of which is reed, rush, etc. The connection between this day and the god B pictured here must be left undecided. Of the hieroglyphs, the first points rather to the sun-god G, the second, with the numeral 7 as a prefix, is entirely destroyed, the third is the sign *u*, and the fourth, which is half obliterated, was *q*.

7. Day 12 = Men; Aztec Quauhtli, eagle. The figure to which the first hieroglyph with the numeral 11 belongs, is a form of the god F, but has the nose-ornament of the sun-god G. Hieroglyph 2, which we shall find again on 22c, may refer especially to the eagle; the third is the sign of the day Caban with a prefixed 3, and the fourth is the sign *o*.

8. Day 16 = Cauac; Aztec Quiahuitl. The meaning in the different languages points to rain, storm and summer, of which the tortoise and serpent are special symbols. I shall not venture to decide positively upon the deity pictured here; perhaps the object in his hand may be a tortoise; Seler, "*Quetzalcoatl-Kukulcan*" (1898), p. 403, calls him the young god. In the hieroglyphs we find the serpent sign Chicchan twice, just as in the first group on page 4; then follow *a* and Kan-Imix.

9. Day 18 = Imix; Aztec Cipactli. In my treatise on the day-gods, I have referred to the variations in the significance of this day. The Mayas connected with it the idea of the female breast, of drink, and, in particular, of the intoxicating beverage pulque. The deity pictured here, which is certainly a female deity, has a kind of vessel in her hand, from which the serpent resting on her head appears to be drinking. Hieroglyphs 2 and 4 are wholly obliterated, and 1 partly; there is a lock of hair, the sign of femininity, before 1 and 3. It is to be noted further that 3 is the sign of the death-god and that the deity pictured here has the death-sign on its cheek. Can this possibly suggest deathlike intoxication?



10. Day 20 = Akbal; Aztec Calli. The meaning is that of darkness, night, dark hole, then that of house as an artificial cave or as a place of shelter at night. The first picture on page 7, the black deity L with the beard fits admirably here. The black paint still visible proves that the first hieroglyph, which is almost effaced, was his sign, and the second may be a head more definitely identifying him. The third was the sign *q*, the fourth is an Ahau, perhaps intimating that Akbal belonged to the days beginning the Uinal sections of 20 days, and to the lords of the same. In addition to appearing with these 5th, 10th, 15th, and 20th days, an Ahau is found with the 1st, 6th, 11th and 16th as regent of the year, and lastly, but especially, with the 17th, which bears the name Ahau, and with the god D belonging to it.

11. Day 2 = Chicchan; Aztec Cohuatl, serpent. With this would agree also the third and fourth hieroglyphs (the latter *r*), which are the two we found in the first representation on page 4 belonging to the deity holding the serpent. But what is the meaning here of the dog-head of the figure, and of the first two hieroglyphs corresponding to it? And what does this creature hold in its hand? The lightning? The hieroglyphs seem to correspond to the seventh day, as if the scribe had recognized his mistake and referred here to the present and not to the past year.

12. Day 6 = Muluc; Aztec Atl, water, cloud. With this corresponds the image of the storm deity K and his two hieroglyphs 1 and 2, the first of which occurs frequently, and the second is found on pages 20 b and 47, while 3 (Ahau) designates the day as regent of the year and 4 is the hieroglyph *a*. The curious sign 2 is also given on Cort. 32 b.

13. Day 8 = Chuen; Aztec Ozomatli, ape. There is no agreement at all here, but everything points to the day 3 lying 5 days back, the picture of the Cimi as well as the hieroglyphs, even the third with the Akbal sign and the uplifted arm (as on page 36a), also the fourth (*c*) which is generally thought to be the death-bird. It even seems here as if the scribe had had the

preceding year in mind; possibly he did not want to repeat the fifth group.

14. Day 11 = *Ix*; Aztec *Ocelotl*, jaguar. Here there is an admirable correspondence between the figure and the first hieroglyph, which on page 26, top, also refers to the jaguar represented there; the other three hieroglyphs are *r*, Kan-*Imix* and *q*.

15. Day 13 = *Cib*; Aztec *Cozcaquauhtli*, vulture. The bird is actually pictured here and its sign is the first hieroglyph; the third is *q*, the second and fourth are obliterated.

16. Day 16 = *Cauac*; Aztec *Quiahuitl*, meaning, as in the eighth group, rain, storm, summer. The figure, the first on page 9, seems, however, to indicate the day *Ahau*, as does also the second hieroglyph, which is *Ahau*; the first and third are effaced and the fourth is *r*. Perhaps the scribe did not wish to repeat the eighth group.

17. Day 18 = *Imix*; Aztec *Cipactli*, as in the ninth group. Here the allusion to pulque is still plainer than it is there. The picture is that of a woman with bound eyes and uncertain position of the hands, and here too with the death-sign, and on her head a bee from whose honey the beverage was prepared. I shall not venture to explain the first two hieroglyphs; the second with uplifted arm appears again on page 8c. The third is *Cimi* and the fourth *q*.

18. Day 1 = *Kan*; Aztec *Cuetzpalin*, denoting maize with the Mayas. The representation consists of the maize deity with the *Kan* sign on her head, the first hieroglyph is hers, then follows Kan-*Imix*, which I am inclined to interpret as meaning a meal, next the sign *a* and finally a head, which is uncommon and undetermined, with the leaf-shaped prefix as on pages 4c, 6c, 9c, 34b, 61a, 67b and 69 a.

19. Day 3 = *Cimi*; Aztec *Miquiztli*, death. The first figure on page 10 is a deity with the head of the death-bird *Moan* and above the head is the death-sign. As has long been known, the first and third hieroglyphs unquestionably belong to this god, also the fourth with the *Akbal* sign agrees with it, and the second likewise recalls the *Moan*.

20. Day 5 = *Lamat*; Aztec *Tochtli*, meaning rabbit in the latter language. Neither the figure, which represents *Cimi*, death, nor the corresponding hieroglyphs, excepting the second one, agree with this day. This second hieroglyph has both in front and above it the number 6. Two numbers added thus to the common Uinal sign usually designate the Uinal period plus days, as is so very common on the inscriptions, so that the sign appearing here would denote  $6 \times 20 + 6 = 126$  days. The hieroglyph here, however, is *not* the usual sign for 20 days. On the contrary, it has in the centre a straight line and on either side of it a parallel line ending in a little knob (or loop?). I propose to regard these lines as representing the ecliptic and the moon, which takes its course now to the north and now to the south of the ecliptic, and the sign as a whole as signifying the lunar month of 28 days. This is confirmed on pages 51, 55, 56 and 57. In that case this hieroglyph would denote  $6 \times 28 + 6 = 174$  days.

Now bear in mind that in this passage the day X *Lamat*, which equals the Aztec *Tochtli*, is referred to.

In the year named after this day, and indeed on the 174th day of the same (1 *Cipactli*), in February 1502, the emperor *Ahuitzotzin* died; compare especially Brinton, "Essays of an Americanist" (1890), pp. 274-283.

Should this association in our manuscript of *Cimi* = death, X *Tochtli* and the numeral 174, be considered accidental? Or did the scribe, writing in the year after the event, actually record it in the year 1503 and, departing from his real subject, immortalize it in this place at the end of the greatest *Tonalamatl*? I will not refrain from expressing the conjecture I have long entertained, though I am quite prepared for differences of opinion.

Seler attempts to explain this series of 20 gods in another way; see his "Monumente von Copan und Quirigua" (1899), p. 729. (Cf. his collected papers p. 781.)

#### Pages 4 b — 5 b.

It is my opinion that the *Tonalamatl* just now discussed connects with another, which is recorded directly below the

beginning of the first, and which also differs from all the other ordinary Tonalamatls. It likewise divides the first 52 days into a large number of small parts (14) and has the following form, if we adopt Seler's correction in the last member:—

XII 4 III 4 VII 4 XI 3 I 4 V 3 VIII 4 XII 3  
II 6 VIII 3 XI 4 II 4 VI 4 X 2 XII

Ix                   The two days Ik and Oc should be read Oc and  
Cimi               Ik. There is only one picture here:—a sealy green  
Ezanab           monster with the head of the principal god D.  
Ik                 There are six hieroglyphs on its body, the first is  
Oc.               that of Eb and the second that of Cimi, the fourth  
is the sign c. The others I shall not venture to determine.

According to a conjecture expressed verbally by Dieseldorff, this figure may represent the god who continually recreates himself. We are reminded here of the two-headed serpent (Seler, "Tonalamatl der Aubinschen Sammlung," 1900, pp. 65-66). There are two rows of hieroglyphs above the monster, the upper contains 8 and the second 6, but the second hieroglyph in the upper row belongs in the lower. Thus there are 14 hieroglyphs corresponding to the subdivisions noted above.

The upper seven signs are all alike and are also identical with the one, which, in the great Tonalamatl, recorded above, begins the heading of all the 20 groups; this likewise points to a close connection between the two Tonalamatls.

The remaining 7 hieroglyphs should be considered as only 6, for it is improbable that C occurs twice in this series. They are the gods D, C, H, N, A and B, to which perhaps an E or F or G is to be mentally added in place of the second C. They are all principal gods with the exception of N (as always, according to Schellhas's nomenclature). This N, an old man, denotes, as it seems, the five Uayeyab days at the end of the year, as he does also on page 21c. This sign with the number 4 has already been seen on page 4a. If in 4b this sign signifies the last day of the year, then this Tonalamatl falls in the year XIII Kan. The sign 5 Zac also appears in the Tro-Cort., e.g., Cort. 29 c, Tro. 9\*b and 28\*b.

Now I shall proceed to examine all that has not yet been

discussed to the end of page 12, taking up first the remainder of sections a and b and then all those of 4c-12c.

### Pages 10 a — 12 a.

XI 12 X 8 V 12 IV 8 XII 12 XI

Lamat The period of 52 days is thus divided into five  
Ahau sections of 12 and 8 days each, alternating regu-  
Eb larly. A deity and four hieroglyphs belong to each  
Kan of these sections, viz:—  
Cib.

1. D sitting, with his right hand pointing upward and his left downward; on his head is the Akbal sign as on page 15c. The hieroglyphs are destroyed with the exception of the third, which is the sign of D (Ahau). The fact that the 12 days happen to end with the day belonging to D (Ahau) is accidental.

2. R, a human figure with the head of the Moan (as on page 7c and 10a) and with the copal pouch around his neck. Of the hieroglyphs only the fourth, one of the common signs of Moan (c), is legible.

3. H, or, according to Seler, "the young god," as on 12b and 14b, with nose-peg and copal pouch. On his (her?) head sits a bird with an object, which I do not recognize, in its bill; compare page 12b. Of the hieroglyphs, the first is destroyed, the second is the unmistakable sign of H, the fourth is the common a, and the third I cannot as yet decipher.

4. A, with the usual design issuing from his mouth (the expiring breath of life?). Of the hieroglyphs, the first is a double Manik with prefixes, which probably denotes violent death; the other three are very common symbols of A.

5. E, holding a vessel containing plants (agave?) and with the cross b on his head-ornament. The first hieroglyph is an unexplained compound design apparently referring to the Moan, an Imix and two prefixes, the second is the monogram of E, whom the third hieroglyph, Imix-Kan, designates as dispensing nourishment, and the fourth, Ahau, as a leading deity.

### Page 12 a.

The scribe evidently wishing to carry out his material in some conclusive form in the top, middle and bottom sections of

page 12, found insufficient space in the top section. He, therefore, condensed two independent unconnected Tonalamatls, by arranging them in such a manner, that the period of 52 days was divided, for the sake of brevity, into only two parts, viz:—

VIII                      27 (IX)    25 (VIII)

Ahau              Oc

Eb                Ik

Kan              Ix

Cib               Cimi

Lamat           Ezanab.

I have supplied the two numbers enclosed in parentheses; they are wanting in the Manuscript.

The hieroglyphs 1 2 5

3 4 6

7

8

are sufficient for the two figures one expects to see here; but they are, in fact, intended for four figures—two for each of the two Tonalamatls. For the first of the two Tonalamatls we have only one figure, God K, who, however, from the dish held in his hand, probably containing honey (compare 10b), seems to stand here also in place of E. In agreement with this, Hieroglyph 2 and probably also 1 (s, which occurs again on page 13a, and also on page 10b) refers to K, while 3 clearly refers to E and 4 is the sign a. Hieroglyphs 5-8 belong to the second of the two Tonalamatls. The first two of these hieroglyphs, which are entirely erased, refer to an unknown deity, and the last two unquestionably relate to A.

#### Pages 5 b—6 b.

I            16 IV 9 XIII 25 XII 2 I

Manik

Cauac

Chuen

Akbal

Men.

Four hieroglyphs belong to each of the four subdivisions:—

1	2	5	6	9	10	13	14
3	4	7	8	11	12	15	16.

These four parts, however, form a whole, inasmuch as they all relate to making fire, as it is also represented in the Troano 6, 19 and 14\*c. Hence the upper row of hieroglyphs contains signs which are repeated. 1, 5 and 9 are the same head, the last two cases have the sign for darkness (Akbal); this Akbal appears again in the parallel passages of the Tro. and in 13 it is somewhat enlarged simply owing to the absence of a head. The act of making fire seems to be denoted here rather by the second sign (2, 6, 10, 14), which I designate by *k* and which, originally, doubtless consisted of two hands (double Manik sign); the prefix is the same in 6 and 14, and different in 2 and 10.

The eight lower hieroglyphs are merely the monograms of the four gods making the fire. The first deity is F, the second either A or one of the black deities L or M, the third D and the fourth apparently F again, but conceived as feminine. In the third picture there is a second object, apparently a head (of D?), below the piece of wood in which the fire-stick is being whirled. Hieroglyph 11 belonging to this deity has an Akbal as a prefix.

### Pages 6 b — 7 b.

X	13	X 13	X 13	X 13	X	
Kan		This Tonalamatl is divided, by way of excep-				
Cib		tion, into four equal parts, which all begin with				
Lamat		the same week day X.				
Ahau		Here too, as in the preceding Tonalamatl, there				
Eb.		are four subdivisions, and also 16 hieroglyphs				
		arranged in the same way. And here too the upper line is a				
		condensation of the whole, the same two signs being repeated				
		four times. The first of these is <i>q</i> , which is still a problem and				
		which occurs inverted also on Cort. 20d-21d (where there are				
		figures with bird-heads); there too it is the characteristic hiero-				
		glyph. The second, however, is again the double Manik sign				
		referring to activity of some kind, as in the preceding Tona-				
		lamatl. But the occupation of the four deities represented				
		here is of very different kinds and altogether problematical.				
		E, conceived as feminine, occupies the first place, with a Kan				
		sign on her head and holding in her hand a vessel exactly like				

the one held by the figure just above on the same page. The third hieroglyph is hers and the fourth is the sign *a*.

The second figure is A with a hook-shaped object hanging around his neck. His hands also seem to be deformed, as are those of the third and fifth figures of the great Tonalamatl (on pages 4 and 5). His two hieroglyphs are among those usually belonging to him.

The third god is D sitting, by way of exception, on some object (stone?). Something resembling the pestle of an ordinary mortar is hanging down in front of his headdress, and he is holding a very similar object to his mouth. His two hieroglyphs are also those which usually refer to him.

The most striking figure is that of the fourth god, whom I do not recognize. He seems to be attracting to himself a bird flying down from above, whose bill almost touches his mouth. His hieroglyph has the sign Yax (strength) for a prefix and the fourth hieroglyph is *c*.

### Page 8 b.

VIII 26 VIII 26 VIII

Manik

Cauac                      Again we have a Tonalamatl divided into equal  
Chuen                    parts, this time, however, into but two, and it seems  
Akbal                    thus to be closely connected with the preceding.  
Men.

While hitherto four hieroglyphs have usually belonged to each figure, we find here ten in all and in the following order:—

1	2	5	6
3	4	7	8
		9	
		10.	

There are two figures here, which stand in some relation to one another, — two persons sitting facing each other. The one at the left is certainly D, the one at the right can hardly be the old woman, whom Schellhas designates with O, but rather N, the old god of the Uaycyab days. The former seems to be about to take something from the hand of the latter. I surmise that it is one of the prophetic weaving implements.



which we found on page 2. The two hieroglyphs *e* and *h* must refer to this; they are repeated, as usual, in the two groups, *e* in places 2 and 8, and *h* in 1 and 6.

Signs 3 and 4 refer unquestionably to D and hence 5 and 7 (the first *q* with Ben-Ik, and the latter unknown) must be the designation of the person sitting on the right. We shall meet the latter sign again on pages 15b and 18a, with the same person, and on pages 27a and 39b with entirely different persons. Sign 7 is an object, which also appears on 15b and 18a, held in the hands of women and may denote some special sacrificial offering; on 9b Kan-Imix appears in place of this sign, and on 39b beside it. It should be noted that sign 7 stands here in exactly the same proximity to 1 and 6 as on page 27a.

The hieroglyphs 9 and 10 stand outside the two groups, and since, as we know, they belong to the god A, this prophecy must concern death, as is more clearly indicated by the corresponding hieroglyphs on page 9b.

### Page 9 b.

Here, for the first time in this manuscript, we have a Tonalamatl in which the 260 days are not divided into five fifths of 52 days each, but into four quarters of 65 days. This may be represented as follows, if we supply the III, which is wanting at the beginning:—

III      33 X 32 III

Muluc

Ix

Cauac

Kan.

In the first place, the close connection of this Tonalamatl with that recorded on page 8b, just now discussed, is striking, for

1. Here too we find a division into two equal parts is intended, but which, of course, as the number is 65, cannot be mathematically exact.

2. Here too we not only find 10 hieroglyphs, but we find them in the same order as on page 8b, and here too the sign *e* stands in places 2 and 8, and *h* in 1 and 6; again 3, 4 and 9 are exactly the same hieroglyphs here as there, so that only 5, 7 and 10 are different.

3. The picture is again that of two persons sitting facing each other. Here D sits on the right and facing him is the grain deity E. D is speaking to E as is indicated by the sign before his face and by the position of his right hand. The signs belonging to E are Hieroglyphs 5 and 7, while those of D are 3 and 4. It seems, therefore, that D is announcing to E the prophecy contained in the preceding Tonalamatl.

4. Two hieroglyphs, 9 and 10, are again added, both relating to death—9 to god A and 10 to F.

Now what especially distinguishes this passage from the preceding one, is the fact that the four days are the so-called regents of the year, Muluc, Ix, Cauac and Kan, above which, perhaps to emphasize this circumstance, there is a particularly elaborate Ahau. Scler ("Einiges mehr über die Monumente von Copan und Quiriguá," p. 210), however, thinks that this sign is the hieroglyph for the numeral three, which should stand here.

The fact that the tenth sign, which is the last, is 13 Moan in the preceding Tonalamatl, while here it is 11 F, will be of special significance in deciding the interpretation.

#### Page 10b.

The manuscript gives the following:—

XIII    22    III 22

Oc                      This cannot be correct, for  $22 + 22$  is not 52,  
Ik                      and from XIII to III is not 22 days, while the last  
Ix                      Roman numeral is wanting. I, therefore, propose  
Cimi                    to make a 6 of the numeral 2, which occurs twice,  
Ezanab.              by changing the lower dot into a line, and to change  
the III into a XIII by the addition of two lines. This gives the  
series the form XIII 26 XIII 26 XIII. Then by its division  
into three equal parts, this Tonalamatl accords with the three  
preceding ones, which it also resembles in other respects. For  
here too we find two persons pictured; this time, however, they  
do not face each other, but are placed one behind the other.  
The first is B, the god of life strictly speaking, the second is F,  
who is represented by his hieroglyph in the preceding Tonala-

matl, and who is the god of the chase and probably of death by violence. Both hold offerings in their hands, which have been presented to them, and this also seems to be suggested by the two pendent copal pouches. The dish in B's hand probably contains honey, while F holds a plant (agave?)—the very same articles, which we find on page 12a in the hands of other gods. It looks as if the gods had been propitiated and as if this were the conclusion of a drama running through four Tonalamatls. Again the two death-hieroglyphs, which were added on pages 8 and 9, are wanting here, and we find only the usual eight signs:—

1	2	5	6
3	4	7	8.

Of these, 1, 2 and 5, 6 are the usual comprehensive heading; 1 and 5 are the Manik sign, which must denote the offering, while 2 and 6 are the character *s*, which perhaps, not incorrectly, has been thought to denote a repetition, a kind of plural; we have already seen it on pages 12a-13a. 3 is the monogram of B, yet it looks more like a fist with the thumb prominent—a figure I have frequently found in the inscriptions of Palenque. It must also refer to the sacrifice offered to B, which is confirmed by the *a* added to it in 4 and probably denoting a good day. 7 is the hieroglyph of F to which the sign in 8 corresponds, while the prefixed arm in 8 seems to refer to the presentation of the sacrifice.

#### Pages 10 b—11 b.

VIII 8 III 9 XII 9 VIII 10 V 16 VIII

Chuen

Akbal I have corrected the 15 in the manuscript by  
Men making it 16.

Manik

Cauac.

20 hieroglyphs correspond regularly to the five sections in the following order:—

1	5	6	9	10	13	17
2	7	8	11	12	14	18
3					15	19
4					16	20.

This section seems to refer chiefly to the harvest. First the Muluc sign with suffix and affix, which is repeated in 1, 5, 9, 13 and 17 at regular intervals, suggests rain as a preliminary condition of the harvest. Next in 2 the hieroglyph of K, the wind-god, is added to this Muluc sign, and K is the patron of the day Muluc. Then the signs *a* and *o* follow in 3 and 4. There is no picture belonging to this group; it ought to be the god K. The second group adds to the Muluc in 6 the glyph of the sun, which is the second preliminary condition of the harvest. This is followed in 7 by the sign *u* apparently denoting wind and cloud and having the prefix of the storm-god, and in 8 is the sign, which, strange to say, stands also in the last Tonalamatl in the eighth place. I am not very clear in regard to this sign. The sun-god G with copal pouch and a vessel containing grains of maize is appropriately represented with this group. With equal fitness the third group contains E, the harvest-god proper, with copal pouch and grains of maize, and, as usual, a Kan sign on his head, but also with a parrot, probably as an enemy of the harvest. Sign 10 is E's hieroglyph, to which, as is so often the case, sign 11 (Imix-Kan) is added and in 12 the double Manik (i). The last two groups are without figures of deities; the double Manik (14 and 18), possibly a repeated summons to sacrifice, is common to both groups. There seems here to be a further reference to the *enemies* of the harvest, for 15 is the hieroglyph of the vulture, 16 that of the death-bird and 19 that of the night-god, after which this section closes with the quite universal sign *a*. If space had permitted, the vulture and the night-god would have been represented here.

#### Page 12 b.

I 13 I 26 I 13 I

Ix

Cimi	This is again a regular arrangement, half of the
Ezanab	52 days being in the middle and a quarter each at
Oc	the beginning and end.
Ik.	

The first four days refer to the purport of the prediction, Ix, the tiger, Cimi, death, Ezanab, the wounding lance point, and Oc, the lightning dog. The 12 hieroglyphs indicate the con-

nection with the foregoing Tonalamatl, for 1, 5 and 9 contain the same Muluc sign which we found there in the same places.

The three figures, it seems to me, signify the approach of death, the wound occasioning death, and the arrival of death.

The first picture represents the god probably as feminine, with which the illustration on page 9c should be compared. The lock of hair before sign 3, the death hieroglyph, agrees with this as do also the familiar signs 2 and 4. The god is making sounds, which is indicated by the figure issuing from his mouth. Is the snail in his head-ornament to be understood as the sign for retarded motion?

The second figure is the wounding serpent deity H, likewise represented here as feminine, with a lock of hair; the copal pouch hangs from her neck, her nose-peg resembles a flower as on page 19a. A bird is sitting on her head and is devouring a piece of an animal's body; we have already met this representation in the preceding Tonalamatl. Hieroglyph 6 designates the deity H, 7 (Imix-Kan) probably denotes the devouring of the flesh and sign 8, which is an Ahau with a prefixed knife, may also refer to this.

Finally, the third picture is again the death-god, who is clad in a gala cloak and, in contrast to the first picture, where the deity is sitting on some object, is squatting on the ground. The three hieroglyphs 10, 11 and 12 fit here admirably.

We will now turn back to page 4 and consider the lowest section (c) of pages 4 to 12, which like pages 5b-12b (I omit 4b here because its contents are of an entirely different nature) contain 7 Tonalamatls, that is, five ritual years of 364 days. If, however, we add 4b to these and bear in mind that 10c-11c contain a double Tonalamatl, we will have 9 Tonalamatls. We find a group of 7 Tonalamatls also on pages 51a-52a.

#### **Pages 4 c — 5 c.**

XII      10   IX 22   V 11   III 9   XII

Cauac

Chuen

Akbal

Men

Manik.

The incorrect 10 of the manuscript has been changed to 9. The hieroglyphs are as follows:—

1	2	5	6	9	10	13	14
3	4	7	8	11	12	15	16

and there are four figures of gods.

The sign of the rising Moan with its usual prefix and superfix (*d*) forms the principal part of this section, the meaning of which, however, is not yet very intelligible. This sign appears not merely as the 1st, 5th, 9th and 13th hieroglyphs, but all the four gods hold it in their hands. Placed after each of these signs are hieroglyphs 2, 6, 10 and 14, which are the double Manik or hand sign denoting a sacrifice (*i*).

The first god portrayed here is G, the sun-god, and the third hieroglyph is his sign, which is rendered yet more unmistakable here by the laterally elongated head *q*, the meaning of which is not yet wholly determined.

The second god is D with his two signs in 7 and 8. 7 designates him rather as night and moon-god and 8 more as the old god and lord of the gods.

The third god is the serpent deity H or Seler's "young god." His sign is hieroglyph 11, with which, to be sure, the unusual sign 12 (*v*) appears as a not very intelligible determinative.

The fourth god is A and his usual signs are given in 15 and 16.

#### Pages 5c—6c.

This is the second example in our manuscript of a Tonalamatl divided into four parts:—

XII    29    II 11    XIII 18    V 7    XII

Ezanab

Akbal

The repetition of the 15th day at the end is  
Lamat    superfluous.

Ben

Ezanab.

Here, then, we have the four days with which the 18 Uinals can begin; in the Tonalamatl on page 9b, the four regents of the year were given instead. Now, whether the beginning of these periods of 20 days was celebrated by a banquet or not, at all events, a feast is suggested by the sign Imix-Kan, which is

repeated in hieroglyphs 1, 5, 9 and 13. The four vessels in the hands of the four deities, two of whom are sitting and two standing, would agree with the idea of a feast. The first vessel is a cup filled apparently with foaming pulque, and the other three are larger vessels meant to be hung up. The first deity is D with a snail on his head. Compare page 12b. His hieroglyphs are 2 and 3, and sign *a* is added as fourth. The next deity is A with his usual signs in 6, 7 and 8. C follows with his hieroglyph in 10 and lastly F with the sign 14 which belongs to him.

There still remain as the 11th and 15th signs, the elongated head *q* with the Ben-Ik superfix belonging to C and with another superfix belonging to F (with which he likewise appeared as sign 4 in the preceding Tonalamatl). The 12th sign (*v*), which occurs in exactly the same place in the preceding Tonalamatl, is no more intelligible to me here than there.

### Pages 6 c — 7 c.

I 17 V 19 XI 6 IV 10 I

Chuen Four sitting gods with the regular 16 hieroglyphs. There is no collective sign, however, Akbal among these. It seems exactly as if the intention Men had been to represent the *different* offerings usually Manik presented to the various deities. At all events Cauac. the sacrifices are designated by hieroglyphs 1, 5, 9 and 13, and the same objects are also held in the hands of the four gods respectively, although they are clearly recognizable only in the case of the second and third gods.

Now what are these four different sacrificial gifts?

The principal part of the first looks like the sign of the month Mol. In excellent agreement with its appearance is the fact, that this word signifies egg in the Quecchi language. The god receiving the sacrifice here is A. Hieroglyph 2 is his monogram and 3 is that of his companion F and 4 fits both deities.

The second figure is D and his signs are hieroglyphs 6 and 7 to which 8 is added quite superfluously. The sacrifice proper is denoted by 5, which, I think, is a sign of multiplicity and which was originally the fin of a fish. In the manuscripts and

inscriptions, when this sign is added to the sign for 360 days, it enhances the value to  $20 \times 360 = 7200$  days.

The third picture represents the god with the bird-head of the Moan and his signs are hieroglyphs 10, 11 and 12. One of these, signifying rising birds, is also the offering in 9.

Lastly, the fourth picture is, according to Schellhas, the serpent deity H, and, according to Seler, the "young god," with the snail on his head. His sign is hieroglyph 14. Added to this is the sign *a* in 15, and in 16 it is *q* again with the same superfix as in sign 15 of the preceding Tonalamatl. The sacrifice in 13 is represented by a Kan sign, which is equivalent to maize, maize bread or tortilla.

Repeatedly, as on page 23b or 29b-31b of our manuscript, we see a portion of game (deer), a bird, a lizard and a fish represented as sacrifices. With this the fish and bird in our second and third pictures agree very well. I shall not venture to explain the other two in the first and fourth pictures. Perhaps future explanations of the curious head-ornament of the four gods will shed further light on the subject.

### Page 8 c.

III 9 XII 9 VIII 9 IV 9 XIII 9 IX 7 III

Cib

Lamat                      The horizontal line should be read in this order;  
Ahau                      in the manuscript the numbers are in a somewhat  
Eb                          unusual order.

Kan.

An attempt has been made to divide the 52 days into sections of 9 days each, and in doing this the sixth subdivision has fallen short of two days. Since this passage has but two pictures, six of the 12 hieroglyphs must belong to each of the figures. I read the hieroglyphs in the following order:—

1	2	5	7	8	11
3	4	6	9	10	12.

Each of the two pictures contains a building and a deity in front of it, each of whom seems to have placed another deity



in the building. In the first picture D is putting C inside and in the second F is doing the same to A or the Moan. I will add also, that the day belonging to C (Chuen) is actually 9 days distant from that of D (Ahau). I am uncertain in regard to the other two. In the back of each building we see a cross.

A similar association of two gods appears again elsewhere, as on page 35a, where D lies on a building in which C is sitting, thus showing an association of the same two gods as in our first group.

In both groups the first two hieroglyphs form the common heading, since 1 corresponds in general to 7 and 2 to 8. In the first group 3 and 4 are the hieroglyphs of D and 5 and 6 are the signs *q* and *v*; does one of these last signs refer to the god C? In the second group 9 is the sign of F, who stands in front of the house and 10 that of the god in the house, as perhaps is also 11, when we consider the closed eye; this is one of the many hieroglyphs having an uplifted arm as a prefix. On page 9a we find exactly the same sign. The last sign is the hieroglyph *q*, which sometimes seems to be used merely to fill space; it corresponds, but with a different superfix, to the fifth hieroglyph of the first group.

The last three parts of this section of the manuscript all differ appreciably from the usual form ( $5 \times 52 = 260$  days).

### Page 9 c.

Here for the first time the manuscript contains a Tonal-amatl, which is divided into  $10 \times 26$  days. It is true the position of both the days and numbers is quite irregular. The manuscript presents the following order:—

III	III	VI	VIII
		3	2
Cauac	Ben	XI	II
Chuen	Chicchan	3	4
Akbal	Caban	VI	VII
Men	Muluc	4	1
Manik	Imix.	I	III
		7	2

I read it thus:—

III	3	VI	2	VIII	3	XI	4	II	4	VI	1	VII	7	I	2	III
Cauac	Two figures and eight hieroglyphs are given															
Chicchan	here. I do not venture to decide whether each of															
Chuen	the two figures with its hieroglyphs relates only															
Caban	to a period of 26 days or to the half of the whole,															
Akbal	130 days. I think the latter is more likely to be															
Muluc	the case. The sign Imix-Kan, which I am inclined															
Men	to refer to a sacrificial meal, is common to both															
Imix	groups and connects them. The two gods seem															
Manik	also to have a sign pertaining to a meal in their															
Ben.	hands; this may be a cup.															

The first deity is D or I, but with a female breast and with a serpent on his head. His signs are 2 and 3. The second god is A with a snail on his head and his signs are 6 and 7.

In addition to these, sign 4 of the first group is v and sign 8 of the second group is c.

#### Pages 10 c—11 c.

I	XIII	1	I	5	VI	10	III	13	III	15	V	8	(in error 9) XIII			
Imix	Cimi	Here we have two independent														
Ben	Ezanab	Tonalamatls as on page 12a. There														
Chicchan	Oc	are subdivisions only for the second;														
Caban	Ik	the first should be regarded either as														
Muluc	Ix.	entirely invalid or else its division has														
merely been omitted.																

6 gods with 4 hieroglyphs each are represented on these pages:—

1	2	5	6	9	10	13	14	17	18	21	22
3	4	7	8	11	12	15	16	19	20	23	24.

Here too Hieroglyphs 1, 5, 9, 13, 17 and 21 are the common factor; they have the form of the month Mol, but here, as on page 6c, they probably designate the particular object constituting the sacrifice. The following details are to be noted regarding the six divisions:—

1. The god A with his two signs in 2 and 3.

2. D with the signs 6 and 7.

3. F with the signs 10 and 11 (the latter *c*).

4. E with the signs 14 and 15, having on his head a structure, which is compounded apparently of a Kan sign, a snail and the suggestion of the maize plant.

5. G, clad in the gala cloak and the copal bag. His sign is 18, while 19 suggests rather the Moan or K.

6. B, his headdress displays the little circles, which often occur in connection with him, *e.g.*, pages 30c, 40a and 41a, and which may suggest the starry sky. His sign is 22; the hieroglyph *m* is added to it in 23 as a determinative.

As usual, the fourth sign of each group is the most puzzling. 4 and 12 are Imix with the uplifted arm as a prefix, as on page 13a, 8 is the hieroglyph *o*, 16 is *a*, 20 is *c* and the principal part of 24 is *r*. This sign *r* seems to me to suggest the week of 13 days (see above the explanation of page 4a); four weeks of this kind end here.

It is to be noted further that all the six gods are holding one hand outstretched:—A downward, B upward and the four in the centre forward.

### Page 12 c.

XIII 26 XIII 26 XIII 13 XIII

Chuen	This is another Tonalamatl divided into 4 × 65,
Cib	the subdivisions being transferred to the end of the
Inix	second, fourth and fifth weeks. The Chuen at the
Cimi	bottom is superfluous.
Chuen.	

The twelve hieroglyphs standing here according to rule are grouped together in fours by the three pairs of the first row. Of these 1, 5 and 9 are the fist, familiar from the inscriptions, and which we also see on page 10b of this manuscript, where, to be sure, it occurs with the sign of B, as often happens, but here it has the closed eye of the death-god A. On the other hand, 2, 6 and 10 are the sign Kin = sun, with merely a dotted outline, and the three gods pictured below all hold the same Kin sign in their hands. This passage may refer to the dying sun, the winter solstice.

The first god is D, who, however, has B's head on top of his own. An object like a spyglass projects from the eye of B, which one could hardly venture to pronounce a nose-peg. The sign 4 (Ahau) refers to D; but what is the meaning of 3, the hieroglyph of the serpent deity H? Is the sun wounded?

The second god is the baldheaded old deity, whom Schellhas designates as N. The hieroglyph 7, apparently referring to the five Uayeyab days, is his sign; we found it on page 4b and shall again find it on page 21c, and this time likewise with the old man. What is the meaning of the grain-goddess E denoted by sign 8? As N is connected with the close of the year, so E seems to be in various ways connected with the beginning of the new year.

The third picture is unmistakably the sun-god G with the copal pouch hanging from his neck. His sign is 11, while sign 12, which suggests the wind-god K and balled-up clouds, is as difficult to explain here as it was on page 11c. The signs 8 and 12 seem, therefore, to refer to one another, and, if I do not see too much, look like a promise of rain and harvest.

On page 12 the Tonalamatls of the three sections of the page come to an end and a new part of the manuscript begins.

### Page 13 a.

I shall here group together pages 13 and 14, the top third of 14 encroaches a little upon page 15. 13a has the following Tonalamatl:—

Imix

Ben I have supplied the first day, which is effaced.

Chicchan The week days are wanting. The 52 days are

Caban divided into halves of 26 days each.

Muluc.

Of the 8 hieroglyphs the fifth seems to be the same as the destroyed first; aside from the prefix, it is the sign a.

The two halves of the period have two gods, the first is B with a very singular head-ornament, and the second A, perhaps with the symbol of a snail on his head. Both hold a plant (agave) in their hands, as on pages 10b and 12a. Hieroglyph 2, which is mostly destroyed, must have been B's monogram, 4

has the Ahau as its determinative, and 3 is the elongated head *q* with Ben-Ik.

In the second group 6 and 8 are the signs of A, and 7 is an Imix with the uplifted arm prefixed, as on page 10c.

### Pages 14a — 15a.

VIII 13 VIII 13 VIII 13 VIII 13

Ahau The month days 13 and 5 have changed places  
Eb in the manuscript. The initial day VIII Ahau  
Kan will prove to be of especial importance in the  
Cib second part of the manuscript (compare page 70).  
Lamat. Here, as in the preceding Tonalamatl, the period  
is divided into equal parts.

Little can be said of the hieroglyphs, 16 in number, since 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 are wholly or mostly destroyed. 3, 7 and 11 seem here to be a comprehensive element, as is also probably 15, but I am unable to refer this head to a particular god; 2, 6, 10 and 14 may also be alike, but this is very uncertain. 1, 5, 9 and 13 may have denoted the four cardinal points, at least 1 suggests the south and 5 the north.

Thus we have left for the four deities E, H, A and G, only the signs 4, 8, 12 and 16; 4 surely belongs to E, and 8 to H, but the other two are erased.

### Pages 13b — 14b.

VI 13 VI 9 II 7 IX 7 III 7 X 9 VI

Ahau

Eb

Kan There are 24 hieroglyphs for the 6 divisions:—

Cib

Lamat.

1	2	5	6	9	10	13	14	17	18	21	22
3	4	7	8	11	12	15	16	19	20	23	24.

Of these the upper row again contains the comprehensive signs, and the lower the discriminating characters. The closed eye in 1, 5, 9, 13, 17 and 21 suggests A, who also appears below as the first of the six gods, and the superfix of these signs suggests the south. 2, 6, 10, 14, 18 and 22 are the Kan sign, and we also

find this sign in the hand of each of the six gods. Thus the subject of this passage seems strictly speaking to be harvest or food.

The six gods are A, E, C, L, F and D; the second, third fourth and fifth have a bird on their heads. The first and fourth birds are eating, as on pages 11a and 12b, and thus probably represent enemies of the harvest. The first is of a different species from the other two. The four gods in the centre have the eopal pouch about their necks. Signs 3 and 4 are the common hieroglyphs for A; 7 that for E, to which *o* is added as a determinative; 11 is C's hieroglyph with an *a* added to it, and L is undoubtedly denoted by sign 15; 16 is *r* (equal to 13 days; it is meant here for the day III Cib). F appears quite according to rule in 19, which is appropriately followed by the sign *c* in 20. Finally the hieroglyphs for D in 23 and 24 are the usual ones.

We come now to the large section extending to page 23, which, owing to the numerous pictures of women, forms a section quite by itself. It is not likely that this contains anything else than oracles relating to pregnancy; in fact, the period of 260 days represented here with great frequency is in excellent accord with this subject. In the Codex Tro-Cort. there is also a section devoted to women, which corresponds to this chapter and particularly page 19\* of the Troano affords remarkable parallels to the Dresdensis, even in details.

#### Pages 13c — 14c.

II	II	7	IX 3	XII 3	II 13	II
Men	Chicchan					
Imix	Chuen					
Manik	Caban					
Ben	Akbal					
Cauac	Muluc.					

The second of the two vertical rows on the left should be considered as immediately joined to the first. Thus we have here the second example in this manuscript of a Tonalamatl of ten parts; the first was on page 9c.

The entire representation on 13c and 14c looks like an introduction to the following section, as though treating in general of the relation to one another of pairs of animals, of human

beings and of deities. Corresponding with the Tonalamatl, there are four pairs of this kind represented.

The hieroglyphs belonging to these pictures are distributed among the four sections as follows:—

1	2	5	6	9	10	11	15	16	17
3	4	7	8	12	13	14	18	19	20.

Apparently, the first two pictures have only 4 signs each, and the other two 6, but this is equalized by the fact, that hieroglyphs 1, 3, 5, and 7 are clearly each composed of two signs. The comprehensive sign appearing in 2, 6, 9 and 16, is, properly speaking, the sign *t*, which may denote coition, and, not unsuitably, contains in its centre two black figures side by side.

Passing now to the separate four groups, I think the male figure is always on the right and the female on the left. In the first and second groups the two face each other, and in the other two groups the male is behind the female.

1. The female figure is an animal, perhaps a deer, the male is a black and white spotted deity having a human form and his head appropriately embellished with horns. The hieroglyphs belonging to these are:—1, a combination of Manik and Chuen with a prefixed 4, just as on page 21b; 3, likewise a compound sign, with a prefixed 7, which occurs also on page 46c on the left, and which I do not venture to explain, but which seems to denote horns, and lastly the hieroglyph *c*.

2. The female figure is an animal (on page 19a the female is represented more in resemblance to the human form) with a bird-head, to which belongs the compound sign *s*, still unexplained; the male figure is a barking (or howling?) dog, as on page 21b. Hieroglyph 7 is composite and contains first the sign generally belonging to the dog and suggesting a skeleton, which also represents the 14th month, and secondly, a Cimi closely related to it, precisely the same as in the parallel passage 21b. The well-known *q* follows in the 8th place.

3. The god D holds in front of himself an animal, which may be a rabbit. His signs are hieroglyphs 11 and 12, while 13, the principal part of which is a grasping hand, clutching a Moan sign, seems to refer to the animal in the picture. 10 is *b* and 14 is *a*.

4. Lastly, two beings in human guise, showing thus a closer connection with what follows. They are the black god L with his hieroglyph in 18 enlarged by an Imix, and a woman holding a Kan sign in her hand, hieroglyph 20 likewise showing the ordinary combination of Imix-Kan. Sign 15, however, refers to the woman, and lastly 17 and 19 are the signs *m* and *r*; I note that *r* ends a period of 13 days.

The contents of the following seem to suggest that we should first read page 15 (including the middle section of 16) from top to bottom, then pages 16-23, partly from left to right and partly from top to bottom, according to the subject.

### Page 15 a.

V 34 XIII 18 V

Ahau

Eb There are two pictures with 4 hieroglyphs each.

Kan

Cib The two pictures represent D and A, the latter probably as feminine. Both are falling headfirst, and both have leaves about them as if they were falling from a tree and a cry is issuing from A's mouth. The common element is given in hieroglyphs 2, 3 and 7, which are all signs of D. Further, 4 is the Chuen sign, the ape (as the animal living on trees?), its prefix is hieroglyph *r*, which I regard as denoting the week of 13 days and which falls here exactly on the day XIII. And the same Chuen sign is repeated in the second group as the first part of sign 6, the second part of which is illegible. 8 is the sign of A and 1 is effaced.

### Pages 15 b — 16 b.

I 13 I 31 VI 8 I 13 I

Ik

Manik That is  $4 \times 65 = 260$  days. Hence the sign of

Eb Ik repeated at the bottom, as is usual in such

Caban cases, is superfluous.

Ik.

The Tonalamatl contains 4 figures, of which 1 and 2 form one pair and 3 and 4 another.

As on page 15a, the pair at the left are falling down and also



have leaves about them. They are god B, who holds a Kan sign in his hand, and a woman, whose eyes are closed and who holds the sign of death before her breast. B is falling down in a similar fashion in Cort.17. Hieroglyphs 1-8 belong to this pair. Of these, 1, 5 and 8 and also 7 refer to death, 3 with the determinative sign, 4, added (which is the sign *q* with a Ben-Ik), refers to B, while signs 2 and 6 belonging to god D, who occurred in the preceding Tonalamatl, should be noted.

The pair at the right on the other hand is *seated*, the woman apparently on the curved handle of a vessel. The head-ornament and hieroglyph of the female figure prove that she is the serpent deity H, while the male figure is the rare black deity M, whom we find again with his sign on page 43a for example; he holds a bone in his hand. Hieroglyphs 9 and 13 agree. The lower part of these hieroglyphs is the fist with the thumb unfolded, the sign at the top seeming to be merely an empty outline (Muluc?) and thus, like 1 and 5 of the preceding group, they seem to refer to a sacrifice offered to the death-god. 10 and 14 are again, strange to say, like 2 and 6 of the preceding group, the sign of D. 11 is the hieroglyph of H, who is represented below as feminine, and that 12 is a complement of 11 is proved by the upper part of this uncommon hieroglyph, which corresponds to the object in H's hand, and which is repeated on page 18a with the same figure; compare also page 8b. 15 is surely the hieroglyph of M, who is pictured below, as in the Tro. 2a and 22\*a where the same M appears with the same hieroglyph, and to him belongs in 16 the sign *r*, which I am inclined to consider the week of 13 days, and which here, as on 14c, ends a section of 13 days.

### Page 15 c.

III	III	12	II 14	III
Lamat	Ix			
Ahau	Cimi	This is a Tonalamatl of ten parts, the days are to be read in the following order:— Lamat, Ix, Ahau, Cimi, etc.		
Eb	Ezanab			
Kan	Oc			
Cib	Ik.			

There are two figures, A probably conceived as feminine and D with the same head-ornament as on page 10; both hold in their hands a Kin=sun. Hieroglyphs 2 and 6 are also the Kin sign, while 1 and 5 have the closed eye of A, but differ in their secondary parts, the sign suggesting the south being a suffix in 1 and a superfix in 5; 1, however, has an affix, while 5 has as a prefix a sign differing from the affix in 1. 3 and 4 are the signs of A, 7 that of D, next to which in 8 one would expect to see an Ahau, but instead of this there is again the sign of H (borrowed from page 15b?).

This seems to end the subject of coition; now, in natural course, follows the subject of pregnancy, to which I believe the following Tonalamatl is exclusively devoted.

#### Page 16 a.

Kan	21 31
Cib	There are no red numerals, hence the Tonalamatl
Lamat	seems to apply to any one of the initial week days.
Ahau	

Eb. Two women are portrayed, both of whom are stretching a hand forward and upward. There are 8 hieroglyphs of which, however, the top row is almost entirely obliterated; 3 and 7 in the lower row are just alike, being the usual sign for woman.

There is a decided contrast between the two figures, which might suggest barrenness and fruitfulness. Observation of their physical differences would give us that idea. Furthermore, the first carries on her back an unfamiliar head, perhaps A's, while the second has the Ahau, Imix and Kan signs, from which plants seem to be sprouting. The first is represented in the fourth hieroglyph by the sign *c*, which is closely allied to the death deities, while the second woman is denoted by hieroglyph 8 which is the sign of the deity E, the grain-god.

#### Pages 16 a — 17 a.

In the following I will group together all the pages from page 16 — 23 as follows:—First, I shall discuss the top thirds, then the middle and lastly the lower thirds. The sense, however,

often seems to require that the first third should connect with the second, and the second with the third; but I find it impossible to determine exactly the intended order.

On pages 16a-17a, we find for the first time in this manuscript not a Tonalamatl, but in its stead all the twenty days arranged in four columns, each of which ends with one of the regents of the year:—

Men	Ahau	Chicchan	Oc
Cib	Imix	Cini	Chuen
Caban	Ik	Manik	Eb
Ezanab	Akbal	Lamat	Ben
Cauac	Kan	Muluc	Ix.

This seems to establish the fact that the day of its birth was of importance to a new-born child.

Between each column and the next there is a picture and above each picture four hieroglyphs, which, however, are mostly destroyed, so that much of the meaning of this passage is lost to us.

The first is an old man walking, who beyond doubt is N, the Uayeyab god, with a staff in his hand and the signs Imix and Kan on his back. He is looking upward and is also pointing upward with his right hand. Of his hieroglyphs only enough of the fourth is visible to enable us to recognize in it the regular sign of N, 5 Zac. The second picture is again an old man walking with a stick, he is baldheaded and hence is probably also N, as on page 12c. His hieroglyph might be the fourth of those written above him, the other three are entirely unrecognizable. He has a carrying-frame on his back, but it is uncertain whether he is carrying anything upon it.

The third figure is a woman who is pointing upward with one hand and with the other holding the bundle on her back, which I am unable to explain (does it refer to the 14th Uinal—the end of pregnancy?) and from which rises an object resembling a flame. Her sign is in the fourth place and q is in the third. 1 and 2 are not legible and perhaps may be supplemented by the third picture on page 19c. Finally, the fourth figure is F,

who is sitting and has a Cimi sign on his back. His monogram is the second of the hieroglyphs above him, the third is very appropriately *b* and the other two are not very clear to me.

The first two pictures might designate a male birth, the first indicating wealth and the second poverty, the third might denote a female birth and the fourth a still birth. But who can positively assert this!

### Pages 18 a — 19 a.

VIII 12 VII 12 VI 9 II 10 XII 9 VIII

Ik	This is a Tonalamatl of five parts with 20 hiero-
Ix	glyphs, which unfortunately are so much injured
Cimi	that no signs comprehending the whole can be
Ezanab	distinguished.
Oc.	There are five women in a sitting attitude.

The first woman corresponds exactly to the third figure on page 15b. She is sitting on a bench, the same implement is in her hand and there is also a serpent on her head, for which reason she likewise reminds us of II. The third hieroglyph is hers, and the 4th sign is an Ahau.

The second woman holds in her hand the Kin sign; above it is the Yax sign and above this a little cross between two dots (the numeral 18?). Compare pages 18c, 19c and 27b, and in the second part, 46b and 50c. I shall venture no opinion regarding the hieroglyphs.

The third woman with the copal pouch hanging from her neck has nothing in her hand. She is pointing upward with her right hand. Her hair seems to be wound in the shape of an 8 in horizontal position and above her is a sign denoting the union of two parts. The hieroglyphs are entirely destroyed. Does this represent the birth of twins?

The eyes of the fourth woman are closed, she is pointing forward with her hand and there is a bird on her head. Nothing is left of the hieroglyphs.

Finally, the fifth is distinguished by a large nose-peg, which, as on 12b, resembles a flower. Her hand is extended forward. The fourth of the hieroglyphs above her is her sign. There

is nothing to be said regarding the three others. Are these five women engaged here in presenting their thankofferings and prayers of thanksgiving for the birth which has taken place?

**Pages 19 a — 21 a.**

XI            13   XI 13   XI 13   XI 13   XI

Ahau

Chicchan            Instead of Men the Manuscript has incorrectly  
Oc                   Eb. Ahau in the fifth place is superfluous, since  
Men                we have here a Tonalamatl divided into four equal  
Ahau.               parts.

The hieroglyphs are so nearly obliterated that we can no longer distinguish a common sign. There were in all six signs for the first picture, of which the first two are above the day-signs, while the figures from the second to the fifth have only four signs each, as follows:—

1	2	5	7	8	11	12	15	16	19	20
3	4	6	9	10	13	14	17	18	21	22.

All that can be distinguished here is that the 4th and 13th have the same cross *b* and that 6 and 10 probably contain the same head.

Each of the five pictures contains a woman sitting. In the first representation she sits opposite a male figure, who bends down to her with his bird-head, which we have already seen on page 13c. In the other four pictures the woman is holding the figure of a god on her lap. I do not recognize the god in the first picture on page 20. In the second and third pictures he is related to A or the Moan and the first figure on page 21 may represent the god D. These can only be new-born children represented by the gods under whose signs they were born. It should also be noted that the second woman on page 20 has a serpent on her head and the third a bird. The bird's head resembles that on page 16c.

**Pages 21 a — 22 a.**

The Cimi and Eb of the second column have changed places in the Manuscript. Instead of the X there is an erroneous 2 and there is no initial VII.

VII	VII	3	X	2	XII	7	VI	9	II	3	V	2	VII
Oc	Ahau												
Cib	Cimi												
Ik	Eb												
Lamat	Ezanab												
Ix	Kan.												

We have here a Tonalamatl consisting of  $10 \times 26$  days, and the 26 days are subdivided into six parts. I have just assumed that the 2 is wrong and the initial VII is wanting over the first column, yet the 2 followed by the laterally elongated head *q* might here, perhaps, be explained in some manner as the sign of the day VII Oc.

Apart from this sign which occupies an entirely exceptional position, we have here 24 hieroglyphs, *i. e.*, 4 for each of the six groups.

The fourth sign in the first five groups is in each case a Chuen combined with the cross *b* and the suffix, which seems to be a knife, and also with a numeral, which, however, is not recognizable in the first group; in the second it is a 3, in the third a 7, in the fourth a 5 and in the fifth a 3. What can these numbers mean?  $3+7+5+3=18$ , and Chuen with the meaning of 20 (especially in the inscriptions) would be  $18 \times 20 = 360$ .

In the fourth place of the sixth group there is a compound character, the main part of which (top, right) seems to be the sign for the thirteenth month, Mac, and which may also, as we shall see on page 24, denote the entire Tonalamatl. It is again compounded with a Chuen, an uplifted arm and a kind of suffix, and hence might denote the end of a Tonalamatl.

The remaining 18 signs are in the main destroyed. In the second of the fourth group we recognize the lock of hair denoting a woman, in the third of the second group the superfix suggesting the south, which we find above the Cini sign, for example on page 13b. Lastly, the other third signs are in the third group Imix-Kan, in the fourth group the head *q*, in the fifth the bird *c'* and in the sixth a Manik sign with prefix and superfix resembling the sign *i*; in a few places (24, 39a, 53a, 56b, 58b, 61a, 61c, 68c) the prefix might have the meaning of 20.]

Since the intention was to close this section on the next page, the space had to be used as economically as possible, and instead of the six pictures to be expected, there is only one and that is the first. It is a woman in whom I observe nothing characteristic except that she has a kind of cloak, which has fallen down over the lower part of her body, and who therefore remains unexplained.

**Pages 22a — 23a.**

II	II	II	II 2	IV 8	XII 7	VI 10
Men	Cib	Caban	Ezanab		[ III 12	II
Chuen	Eb	Ben	Ix			
Manik	Lamat	Muluc	Oc			
Akbal	Kan	Chicchan	Cimi			
Cauac	Ahau	Imix	Ik.			

The Tonalamatl is no doubt to be read in this way after the correction of a few inaccuracies in the Manuscript.

The 20 days, all of which occur again here as on pages 16a-17a, should be read from the right top to the left bottom, since they form but one series.

As a matter of fact Ezanab is distant 19 days from the future Caban, but 39 days distant from the desired weekday of the same name (see my "Erläuterungen," p.24). Thus we have here a period of  $20 \times 39$  days = 780, i.e., a three-fold Tonalamatl. The three Tonalamatls represented on the pages between the preceding passage (pages 16a-17a), where all the 20 days appear, and this, are of three *different* kinds ( $5 \times 52$ ,  $4 \times 65$ , and  $10 \times 26$ ). This in itself is very remarkable. Furthermore a fourth kind of Tonalamatl seems to be introduced here, which embraces, as it were, these three Tonalamatls.

The hieroglyphs, which are mostly destroyed, were arranged in groups of four for each subdivision, in the following order:—

		II	II	II	II
1	2	5	9	13	17
3	4	6	10	14	18
		7	11	15	19
		8	12	16	20.

Of the above the third hieroglyph of each group, *i. e.*, 7, 11, 15, 19 (probably also 3) is always the same and is the sign of D, the moon and night-god. In detail we should expect to find five pictures here, but owing to lack of space only the first of these is given. It represents a deity with a Kan sign in its hand and a serpent on its head, who is probably E, and he is falling down here in exactly the same manner as the four deities on page 15 at the beginning of this section.

Now, which were the other four deities? Signs 8, 12, 20 refer to A, H and C. 16 is the laterally elongated head *q*, to which Seler is inclined to refer the day Men, and Schellhas an undetermined deity I. On account of its frequency this sign must have besides a more general significance. In addition, however, we have in 14 and 18 the signs of F and B. 6 is uncertain, 10 is probably C, and the top row is entirely illegible. If to these deities is added the D repeated five times in the third row, it will be seen that all the important gods are grouped together here on the last page of this section.

#### Pages 16b—17b.

I will now attempt (for it cannot be more than an attempt) to separate into three parts, according to their contents, the middle and lowest thirds of pages 16 to 23. The first part, 16b to 18b and 16c to 20c, contains six Tonalamatls with pictures of women, each of whom carries on her back the figure or symbol of a deity. This deity can hardly be any other than the one to which the horoscope of the child especially refers.

The first of these Tonalamatls, on pages 16b-17b, runs as follows:—

Muluc            13   4   35 (or 20   15)

Imix

Ben

The red numerals are wanting and were probably forgotten.

Chicchan

Caban.

The hieroglyphs stand thus:—

1	2	5	6	9	13
3	4	7	8	10	14
				11	15
				12	16.



Of these 3, 7, 11 and 15 are the sign for women, 2, 6, 10 and 14 are likewise all the same sign, which is repeated in the same places on pages 17c to 18c. I do not understand its meaning; it may have reference merely to the carrying-frame. Instead of the four women, whom we should expect to find here, only the first two are portrayed. The first carries B, whose sign is the first hieroglyph, while the fourth hieroglyph is the sign *q*.

The second woman carries A to whom hieroglyphs 5 and 8 refer. The third woman would have carried D, which is plainly proved by hieroglyphs 9 and 12, and the fourth, F, as follows from sign 13 and probably also from 16 (*q*).

### Pages 17 b — 18 b.

Eb 11 7 6 16 8 4.

Kan

Cib Here again there are no red numerals.

Lamat

Ahau. The 24 hieroglyphs of the six divisions stand thus:—

1	2	5	9	13	14	17	18	21	22
3	4	6	10	15	16	19	20	23	24.
		7	11						
		8	12						

Again, six women should be portrayed here, but there are only four; the second and third are wanting. The signs for the women are given in 3, 7, 11, 15, 19 and 23, but in 15 and 19 the prefix is different from that of the rest. As from here on the women repeatedly carry a bird, the signs for this are 2, 6, 10, 14, 18 and 22, which are the symbol of a rising bird, as in the sign of the 15th Uinal (Moan), which in my opinion generally coincides with the 13th month of 28 days.

The women pictured here have nothing in their hands, which they hold stretched forward, as is usually the case in this section. The first woman carries a vulture on her head. Compare 8a. In regard to it see also Schellhas, "Göttergestalten," p. 31. The hieroglyph of the vulture, which we find repeated on page 17c, 24, 37b, 46, 50, 65, is here hieroglyph 1, usually regarded as the sign of the bat deity, and near it in 4 is *q*.

The second woman would have carried the black deity L (hieroglyph 5), to which *q* is added in 8.

The third would have had the dog, *i. e.*, the lightning dog, which we find in hieroglyph 9 and in the month sign Kankin; an *a* is added to them in 12.

The fourth woman carries A, as is proved by his signs in 13 and 16.

The fifth carries nothing; according to the hieroglyphs 17 and 20 she ought to carry D.

Lastly the sixth carries the Moan as is proved by signs 21 and 24.

### Pages 16 c — 17 c.

Muluc 8 13 13 13 8 10

Ix

Cauac This is a Tonalamatl of  $4 \times 65$  days. The Kan Muluc at the bottom is, therefore, superfluous. I Muluc. have been obliged to correct the 12 in the last column of the Manuscript by changing it into a 10. The red numerals are again wanting.

This passage admirably continues the one in the preceding Tonalamatl containing the women carrying birds, and is also divided into six parts.

The hieroglyphs stand thus:—

1	2	5	6	9	10	13	17	21
3	4	7	8	11	12	14	18	22
						15	19	23
						16	20	24.

Signs 3, 7, 11, 14, 19 and 23 (14 and 15 have changed places) denote women. Of the six women only the first three are here portrayed.

The first carries the Moan with which signs 1, 2 and 4 agree perfectly. The second and third carry two birds, which may be parrots of a different species. They are very seldom represented elsewhere and hence their hieroglyphs, 5 and 9, with the added determinative 10 are unfamiliar. In 8 and 12 the well-known determinatives *a* and *c* are added.

Judging by sign 13 the fourth woman would have carried the same culture, which we see in the middle section of this page; 15 and 16 are again signs *c* and *q*.

The fifth woman would have carried an unknown bird of prey, the signs of which are 17 and 18, and 18=10; 20 is again *q*, but with a superfix different from that in 16.

Finally the sixth woman, like the third in 17b, seems to have carried the dog, as is proved by sign 21, but in 22 the symbol of a bird is again added. This passage ends in 24 with the well-known Imix-Kan.

### Pages 17 c — 18 c.

IV 15 VI 33 XIII 4 IV

Ahau            Here we again find the regular red numerals  
Eb              (Roman in my transcription of the text), which  
Kan            were wanting in the last three Tonalamatls. That  
Cib            they were not added until after the black script and  
Lamat.       drawings were completed, is evident in several  
passages of our Manuscript and also in this one, where they have  
been faintly indicated in black by the scribe (or corrector). The  
absence of red numbers in the passages 17b-18b and 16c-17c is  
an evidence that I was right in proceeding directly from the  
former to the latter.

Of the 12 hieroglyphs, 2, 6 and 10 have again the form which we found on pages 16b-17b, and which seems to refer to a carrying-frame; compare, however, the explanation of pages 25-28 below. The women themselves are designated by hieroglyphs 3, 8 and 12. The first woman carries the god A and hieroglyphs 1 and 4 are his regular signs. The second woman has on her back a Kin sign, above that a Yax, and this combination overtopped by a cross between two dots also forms hieroglyph 5; compare the upper section of the same page. That this hieroglyph is nothing else than a designation of god D follows from hieroglyph 7. Finally the fourth woman carries a figure, which has a Mean sign for a head and to which hieroglyphs 9 and 11 certainly refer.

**Pages 18 c — 19 c.**

XIII 32 VI 20 XIII

Ahau           The first woman carries the god A, who is de-  
 Eb           noted by hieroglyphs 4 and 1, though somewhat  
 Kan           irregularly by the latter. 2 is the carrying-frame  
 Cib           and 3 the woman herself.  
 Lamat.

The second woman has again the Yax-Kin sign on her back as in the preceding Tonalamatl, and hieroglyph 5 is also a combination of these signs, but here in 7 we find, not the sign of D, but that of E, to which also the Imix-Kan in 8 corresponds. 6 is again the carrying-frame, though, as is also the case in 2, more indistinctly drawn than in the earlier Tonalamatls.

**Pages 19 c — 20 c.**

XIII 11 XI 11 IX 11 VII 10 IV 9 XIII

Ahau  
 Eb  
 Kan  
 Cib  
 Lamat.

This is a Tonalamatl divided into five parts, to which 20 hieroglyphs belong. The hieroglyphs are in the following order:—

1	2	5	6	9	10	13	14	17	18
3	4	7	8	11	12	15	16	19	20.

At places 2, 7 (6 and 7 have changed places), 10, 14 and 18 we find again the sign which we think means a carrying-frame, while signs 3, 6, 11, 15 and 19 are those of the five women.

The first carries a figure with a Moan head and agreeing with this is the second death-god F in hieroglyph 1 and his determinative in 4.

The second woman, who is seated, carries the same object regarding which I am still uncertain, which is carried by the standing woman on page 17a. This object is denoted by hieroglyph 5 (w). Its determinative is probably 8. It may per-

haps be a step in the right direction to point out that this sign suggests the god K.

The third, like the first, has a figure with a Moan head, with which a female form of A in 12 and hieroglyph 9 accord.

The fourth woman carries the maize deity E. 13 is his sign and the food hieroglyphs, Imix-Kan in 16, agree with it.

The fifth woman seems to carry the somewhat indistinct form of D, if this may be inferred from the Ahau of the 17th sign. 20 is the universal sign *a*.

This ends the six Tonalamatls, which are represented in what I have called the section of the burden-bearing women. Five other Tonalamatls follow, which again suggest the idea of conception, which we met once before on pages 13c-14c.

### Page 19 b.

X 29 XIII 23 X

Ik The most frequent sign in the five Tonalamatls,  
Ix which I have grouped together, is the cross *b*, which  
Cimi plays the most important part in all the Tonalamatls,  
Ezanab excepting the third, which differs from the rest also  
Oe in other respects. It is essentially the sign for  
union, referring in the case of the stars to their conjunction  
and here to sexual union.

In this Tonalamatl we see the cross in hieroglyphs 1 and 5, the sign for woman in 2 and 6, and their determinatives in 3 and 7.

The first woman has a deity facing her who is devoid of all characteristic marks, and sign 4 is also nothing but the universal *a*.

The second woman whose eyes are closed, sits facing A, whose hieroglyph is in 8.

### Pages 19 b—20 b.

VI 28 VIII 24 VI

Cib The arrangement of this Tonalamatl is very  
Lamat similar to that of the preceding.

Ahau Hieroglyphs 1 and 5 are again the cross, and 2  
Eb and 6 the signs for woman.

Kan. The first picture is wanting; hieroglyph 3 with

the number 7 as a prefix denotes a deity with whom I am not familiar. The same sign is found on page 50, left, middle; in 4 the usual head *q* is added.

Beside the woman in the second group — not facing her — is the serpent deity H, again, as on pages 11c and 12b, with the nose-peg resembling a flower. His sign is 7 to which in 8 the familiar Ahau is again added.

**Page 20 b.**

II	20	IX	19	II	13	II
Cauac	The hieroglyphs stand thus:—					
Chuen				1	2	5 9
Akbal				3	4	6 10
Men						7 11
Manik.						8 12.

The subject now passes into the province of astronomy. This is already proved by sign 1, which represents the clouds, between which the sun or moon is usually pictured; the sun is probably omitted here merely owing to limited space. Sign 3 suggests the storm-god K (compare pages 7a and 47 left) to which in 2 the Ahau might be appropriately added, inasmuch as it rules the year here under consideration as on pages 25b to 26c. On account of the Ben-Ik sign I see in 4 one of the months of 28 days as a more exact determination of time. Below the Ben-Ik a head is represented with eyes apparently closed, and this head is repeated in 6 and 10, though, probably for lack of space, without the Ben-Ik. In each of the three places a sign is used as an affix which might readily be the year sign, contracted laterally.

The two similar hieroglyphs 5 and 9, which have the following form, are especially worthy of consideration:—



The part on the right recalls by its trisection the sign *r*, which I regard as the week of 13 days and, in fact, the interval between the two hieroglyphs is 13 days. On the

left is the inverted figure of a person in a squatting attitude, the head surrounded by stars as on pages 57b and 58b and a sign on the back which may be a suggestion of the sun-glyph. In this figure, which occurs also in the Tro-Cort. and in the inscriptions, I see the planet Mercury and I believe that that planet's retrogression (which lasts 17-18 days) or disappearance into the light of the sun during this week, is the subject of this passage. 7 and 8 are the sign for D with the usual Ahau, and 11 and 12 are the hieroglyphs of the death-god A.

Instead of three pictures there is only one here, viz:— a woman with nose-peg, sitting on a mat and apparently waiting for something. We also find figures sitting on mats elsewhere, for example on pages 7b and 68b.

#### Page 21 b.

VII	VII	7	I	7	VIII	7	II	5	VII
Oc	Ahau	This is also a Tonalamatl of 10 parts							
Cib	Cimi	(10 × 26). The first column should be read							
Ik	Eb	first from top to bottom and then the second.							
Lamat	Ezanab	The days are exactly the same as on page							
Ix	Kan.	21a, and here too Cimi and Eb have							
		changed places.							

The hieroglyphs run thus:—

1	5	6	9	13
2	7	8	10	14
3			11	15
4			12	16.

The signs forming the hieroglyphs into groups are, in addition to the cross in 2, 6, 10 and 14, the heads in 1, 5, 9 and 13 with an Akbal sign (indistinct in 9) which, by the lock of hair in 5, 9 and 13, refer to a woman. This lock of hair is replaced by a hand in 1.

Sign 3, with which *m* in 4 is associated as a determinative, shows that the first group ought to have a picture of the black god L grouped with a female figure.

The second group is the only one with a picture. On the right there is a female figure, which, judging by the headdress,

we have already met on page 19a. Opposite her sits the dog which we saw on page 13c. Here (in sign 7), as on page 13c, the hieroglyph of the dog is combined with a Cimi sign, and this hieroglyph is repeated in 8 with the sign c, which is so closely allied to Cimi.

For the third group the god A should have been represented with the woman, as is proved by sign 11 so peculiarly combined with r as a superfix. To this hieroglyph a is added, doubtless referring to the good days, as if merely to fill space.

The hieroglyphs of the fourth group do not, I think, convey a clear idea as to which deity belongs here. His sign is 15, which is compounded of Manik and Chuen with a superfix, nor does the Cimi added in 16 shed light on the subject. As for 15 we have already found it on page 13c with the prefixed 4, which I find prefixed in this way in at least 12 different signs.

#### Pages 21 c—22 c.

Caban        5   21   16   10

Muluc

Imix                This is a Tonalamatl of five parts in which the  
Ben                red numerals are wanting.

Chicchan.

The hieroglyphs are in the following order:—

1	2	5	6	9	11	13
3	4	7	8	10	12	14
						15
						16.

Among these are hieroglyphs which are common to all the groups:— the cross in 1, 5 and 9 and the woman in 3, 7 and 15. In 13 this cross is replaced by another sign, perhaps that for the year of 360 days, and in 12 the sign for woman is replaced by the universal a.

Each of the three pictures contains a woman facing a deity. I will consider first the second picture in which H is the deity, as is proved by hieroglyph 6 to which an Imix is added in 8, with the uplifted arm prefixed as in 10c and 13a.

Between the first and third pictures there is some confu-



sion. The first is D, for while his type inclines more to that of N, the other old god of the Maya Olympus, comparison with 23c clearly shows that D is intended here. But the year-sign on his head also suggests in some measure the Uayeyab god N and moreover this sign does not belong to D and only occurs again with him on page 23c. Further, there is no hieroglyph at all for D and instead we find in 2, 5 Zac, the regular sign of N. Also sign 4 fits N better than it does D. Furthermore this passage relates to the day Ik, which might very well be the last day of the year.

On the other hand the third picture contains, unquestionably, the figure of N. I look for his sign in the 11th hieroglyph, which is the head of an old man with a prefixed 4, referring to the four different forms of N in the Kan, Muluc, Ix and Cauac years. The Ahau in 12, however, does not fit N, but D.

This confusion can only be adjusted by transferring D from the first group to the third and also, perhaps, the sign of the woman in 3, which applies to all the three groups, and by transferring to the first group N and the 11th sign of the third group.

The fourth group has no picture. It should have, as hieroglyph 14 shows, the god F, who represents death by violence in human sacrifice and the chase. The hieroglyph Cimi in the 16th place is a suitable sign for this deity.

#### Pages 22 c — 23 c.

II 10 XII 12 XI 9 VII 6 XIII 7 VII 8 II

Oc

Ik

Ix

Cimi

Ezanab.

The hieroglyphs are arranged in the following order:—

1	2	5	6	9	13	14	17	18	21	22
3	4	7	8	10	15	16	19	20	23	24.
				11						
				12						

This Tonalamatl, the fifth and last of this section, presents much that is irregular and puzzling.

It can hardly be said that there are comprehensive hieroglyphs here, forming the heading of the six groups. The sign for woman occurs only in 2, 8 and 24, and the cross *b* only in 14 and 18, but it is sufficient to make it clear that here, too, connection with a woman is the principal theme. Let us pass, therefore, directly to the single groups.

The first group contains A and a woman. The god, however, is not facing the woman but sits beside her. The Cimi sign in 1, the familiar *c* in 3 and the unknown sign in 4 (=6) hardly explain this particular proceeding.

The second group contains two persons who sit facing each other, but the representation is so obscure and peculiar that it is difficult to determine which is the male figure and which the female. The hair of the person sitting on the right stands up in a manner not found elsewhere. It forms a figure similar to that which is issuing from the mouth of the dog on pages 13c and 21b. The Cimi sign in 5 and the sign *c* in 7 are familiar, but the infrequent 6=4 remains a puzzle.

Uncertainty regarding the third group is increased by the fact that there is no picture belonging to it. The well-known signs, 10 (Cimi) and 12 (*q*) afford no explanation, nor does the head with the uplifted arm in 11, which we find with the same hieroglyph on pages 8a and 36a. The most puzzling is the 9th sign, which is composed of two crouching persons leaning back to back, and who also appear in the astronomical sections of the Manuscript on page 68a, not merely in the form of a hieroglyph, but also carried out in a picture. In my article on the Maya chronology published in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* of the year 1891, I attempted to explain this Janus picture as meaning the change of the year, but that interpretation would make no sense here.

The fourth group contains the woman opposite D, who is clad in the gala mantle and has on his head a bird and apparently the sign for a year, and is designated by the Ahau in 16, while Imix-Kan in 13, *b* in 14 and *a* in 15 are rather meaningless.

The fifth group represents the woman united with A, who is designated by the Cimi sign in 17. 18 with its *b* and 19 with its *q* display little that is characteristic. *r* in 20, which I think is the sign for the week of 13 days, invites further study. The sixth picture, which is the last, is very peculiar; it represents three women sitting side by side denoting perhaps the virgins who still remain. Sign 21 as Imix-Kan, 23 as *a* and 24 as sign of femininity supply nothing in the way of explanation. As 6, 9 and 20 are the characteristic signs in the preceding groups, so here the characteristic sign is 22—an open hand holding the day Ben—which perhaps designates these virgins by referring to the house in which they are held fast by the hand. Cf. Tro. 23\* d.

Now of the entire woman section closing with page 23 only the two Tonslamatls on pages 22b-23b remain. These Tonslamatls again display very many peculiarities and seem to be but loosely connected with the five Tonslamatls last discussed.

#### Page 22 b.

III 13 III 13 III 13 III

Akbal

Men This is a regular Tonslamatl, in which the 52 days  
Manik are divided into four equal parts.

Cauac

Chuen.

The hieroglyphs are in the following order:—

1	2	5	6	9	10	13
3	4	7	8	11	12	14
						15
						16.

An Ahau is added here as the 17th sign, which is very unusual.

We find elements here forming the hieroglyphs into groups in three different ways.

1. The signs 1, 5, 9 and 13 designate the four cardinal points as they so often stand together in this Manuscript in the order of East, North, West and South, i. e., in the sequence of the annual and not of the diurnal course of the sun.

2. The hieroglyphs 2, 6, 10 and 14 are all alike and are the head with the Akbal eye, which in 6 is closed.

3. The three persons pictured here all carry a Kan sign in their hands, probably as the offering they have received. Similarly we found the Kan sign held in the hand twice on page 16b.

The first picture is B; his sign is the third with the *q* in 4 as a determinative, which has above it a Ben-Ik sign.

The second figure is a goddess with a serpent as head-ornament, though we find in the 7th sign, not her hieroglyph, but merely the one generally used to denote a woman. 8 is the usual *a*, which in my opinion is the sign for the *good* days, to which also the Kan sign refers in the hands of the three personages.

The third picture is that of the sun-god G; his hieroglyph is the 11th, to which in 12 is added the sign *q*, the sign for the bad days, with a superfix.

The fourth picture is wanting. According to the 15th hieroglyph it should be the maize deity E. My theory that 16 is the sign for the week of 13 days is supported by the fact that the division into  $4 \times 13$  days is the prevailing one.

#### Page 23 b.

VIII 12 VII 12 VI 12 V 12 IV 12 III 5 VIII  
 Kan This is a Tonalamatl of  $4 \times 65$  days divided as even-  
 Mulue ly as possible into  $5 \times 12 + 5$ . The 5th day added  
 Ix after the 16th must be a mistake (suggested by the 5th  
 Cauae day of the last section) for it is usually the first of the  
 Lamat. days, which is repeated superfluously.

The hieroglyphs are:—

1	2	7	11	15	19	23
3	4	8	12	16	20	24
5	6	9	13	17	21	25
		10	14	18	22	26.

Contrary to practice the first section has six hieroglyphs, and the other five but four each.

As the characteristic hieroglyph we find in 1, 7, 11, 15, 19 and 23 a sign, the meaning of which is still undetermined and which we shall meet again on page 60, where it may refer to darkness.

The groups have in common, furthermore, the head without an underjaw and the hair gathered up in a tuft in 4, 10, 14, 22 and 25 (in 18 perhaps represented by *q*, the evil days). We

shall find this sign on pages 25, 28, 30-35, 42-44 and 65-69, repeated a number of times in many instances. I consider it the sign for fast-days. It appears also in the *Tro-Cort*. Associated with his sign here as in other passages are the four sacrifices derived from the animal kingdom:—a haunch of venison, a bird, an iguana and a fish. The fish is beyond doubt denoted by 3, the mammal by 21 and the bird by 13, and I believe, therefore, that the iguana with its spiny back is denoted by 9. We find the four animals, though in a different order, also on pages 29b-30b, 30b-31b and 40c-41c, as well as in *Cort.* 3-6 and 8, for example. They seem to have a certain reference also to the four cardinal points.

Only the first of the six groups has a picture (I?). This represents a woman with a serpent in her hair, holding in her hand a dish containing a fish. The woman is denoted by the fifth hieroglyph and the fish by the third. The 6th sign is an Ahau, which is not quite intelligible here. Sign 2=5 Zac is very remarkable; it is the hieroglyph of the Uayeyab days and of their god N. If this Ahau refers, as it often does, to the god D, it suggests the relation between D and N, which follows from page 21c.

According to the 8th sign, the second group might refer to the serpent deity H, and the 9th sign would not improperly denote the iguana.

In the same way sign 12 in the third group probably denotes the storm-god K, with whom the bird in 13 accords very well.

In the fourth group both the animal and the sign of fasting, belonging to it, are wanting, while 16 and 17 as well as the unlucky day in 18 clearly refer to the death-deity A.

The fifth passage belongs, as sign 20 shows, to the maize deity E and to this is added the haunch of venison in 21.

In the sixth group we recognize Imix-Kan, the sign for food derived from the vegetable kingdom. It stands beside the grain-deity E of the fifth group. I do not understand the vulture-head in 26.

The five deities specified here may be compared with those on page 24, which are denoted by hieroglyphs 21-25 of the second column, though the agreement is not perfect.

This ends the first great section of the Manuscript, in which

Tonalamatls are represented in uninterrupted succession. We come now to a page which stands quite alone, being the first which treats of astronomy and which ends the front of the first part of the Manuscript.

### Page 24.

In my article "Zur Entzifferung IV" I discussed this remarkable page in detail and in what follows I shall conform to that treatise, though omitting many things which since then have become the established possession of science, and shall endeavor to shed a still clearer light upon other points.

This page presents in brief the subject which is more fully treated of on the front of the second part of the Manuscript (pages 46-60).

The first problem it presents is to find periods in which the solar year (365 days) is brought into accord with the apparent Venus year (584 days). This takes place in a term of 2920 days =  $8 \times 365 = 5 \times 584$ . Sequent to this is the still higher aim of bringing the Tonalamatl (260) into harmony with this period, which is accomplished in 37,960 days (=  $146 \times 260 = 104 \times 365 = 65 \times 584$ ).

The revolution of the moon (28), the ritual year ( $364 = 28 \times 13$ ) and the apparent revolution of Mercury (115) come in question as secondary matters.

I will now give an approximate reproduction of the page:—

HIKROLYPIS.						
1	17	29	151,340	113,880	75,920	37,960
2	18	30	(4 x 37,960)	(3 x 37,960)	(2 x 37,960)	(13 x 2920)
3	19	31	I Ahau	I Ahau	I Ahau	I Ahau
4	20	32	185,120	68,960	33,280	9100
5	21	33	I Ahau	I Ahau	I Ahau	I Ahau
6	22	34	35,040	32,120	29,200	26,280
7	23	35	(12 x 2920)	(11 x 2920)	(10 x 2920)	(9 x 2920)
8	24	36	VI Ahau	XI Ahau	III Ahau	VIII Ahau
9	25	37	23,360	20,440	17,520	14,600
10	26	38	(8 x 2920)	(7 x 2920)	(6 x 2920)	(5 x 2920)
11	27	39	XIII Ahau	V Ahau	X Ahau	II Ahau
12	28	40				
13			11,680	8,760	5,840	2920
14			(4 x 2920)	(3 x 2920)	(2 x 2920)	
			VII Ahau	XII Ahau	IV Ahau	IX Ahau
15						
16			2,200	1,366,560	1,364,360	
			IV Ahau	I Ahau	I Ahau	
			3, Cumhu	18 Kayab	18 Zip.	

First let me observe that I have restored the four large numbers at the top, which are almost entirely effaced, as follows:—

1	15	10	5
1	16	10	5
1	6	16	8
14	0	0	0.
0			

And furthermore, at the right, bottom, I have substituted the third month for the second of the Manuscript, which preceeding will be justified later on.

The least difficult portion of the contents of this page is the first series consisting of 16 members, each being a multiple of 2920. It begins with the date I Ahau (which is always concealed in these series), regularly stops at the month day Ahau (since  $2920 = 146 \times 20$ ), but necessarily advances in the week days by 8 days each (since  $2920 = 224 \times 13 + 8$ ), until 37,960 is reached, when the day I Ahau again appears (since  $37,960 = 146 \times 260$ ).

According to my method of filling in the numbers, the top row of the page consists only of multiples of 37,960.

On the other hand, the four numbers of the second row from the top are more difficult. They are, it is true, all divisible without remainder by 260, but otherwise they seem to be without rule, and they give one somewhat the impression of a subsidiary computation such as one might jot down on a slip of paper in the course of some important mathematical work.

Nevertheless, the following remarkable results are obtained when the first and third and the second and fourth numbers are combined by addition or subtraction:—

1)  $185,120 + 33,280 = 218,400$ , which is just 600 years of  $13 \times 28 = 364$  days, 280 Mars years of 780 days, 840 Tonalamatls of 260 days or 7800 months of 28 days.

2)  $185,120 - 33,280 = 151,840$ , i. e., precisely the highest number of the top row,  $= 416$  solar years of 365 days each or 260 Venus years of 584 days each, i. e., the product of the days of the Tonalamatl multiplied by the Venus years. We shall again find the 151,840 on page 51, and Seler ("Quetzalcoatl and Kukulcan," p. 400) finds this same period on a relief of Chichen Itza.

3)  $68,900 + 9100 = 78,000$ , *i. e.*, 100 Mars years or 300 Tonalamatls. The half of this number, or 39,000, we shall find again on pages 69-73 by computation; also the whole 78,000.

4)  $68,900 - 9100 = 59,800$ , *i. e.*, 520 Mercury years of 115 days, or 230 Tonalamatls, or five times the period of 11,960 days, in which these two periods are united. By computation again we find the 59,800 on page 58. This period of 11,960 days is, however, to the period of 37,960 in the proportion of 23:73, *i. e.*,  $23 \times 520 : 73 \times 520$ . 23 is the fifth part of the apparent Mercury year, as 73 is of the solar year.

Let us now turn to the numbers, which form the bottom of my transcription, but only the left hand lower corner in the Manuscript. Here, in the latter, we find the following (with the correction already mentioned of the second to the third month):—

2200	1,366,560	1,364,360
IV Ahau	I Ahau	I Ahau
8 Cumhu	18 Kayab	18 Zip.

The first thing to be done is to arrange and fill out these numbers to suit our purpose.

The 2200 is clearly nothing more than the difference between the two high numbers. We can therefore dispense with it.

Further, we find by the usual computation, that the second number belongs to the first date and the third to the second. Hence the number corresponding to the third date is wanting from lack of space. This number can be calculated from that date; it is 1,352,400. It would suit this date equally well if the number were higher or lower by 18,980 or a multiple of 18,980; but it will be seen directly that it agrees with the other two numbers only at the value given above.

Now, if we add to this passage the years in which the dates must lie, they are in the case of the date on the left, the year 9 *Ix*, in the case of the middle date, the year 3 *Kan*, and of that on the right hand, the year 10 *Kan*.

Then if we arrange the three numbers with the dates and years belonging to them, according to the value of the first, this part of the page will run as follows:—



1,352,400	1,364,360	1,366,560
I Ahau	I Ahau	IV Ahau
18 Zip	18 Kayab	8 Cumhu
10 Kan	3 Kan	9 Ix.

Let us now consider the properties of the three numbers individually.

1)  $1,352,400 = 28 \times 48,300$  and  $= 115 \times 11,760$ , hence it is divisible by the month days of the year of 364 days and by the Mercury year. At all events this is the least important of the three numbers.

2) 1,364,360. This looks as if it referred particularly to the moon and to Mercury; to the latter since it is equal to  $115 \times 11,864$ , and to the former if we assume that the lunar revolution has been fixed at  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days, in which case this number is exactly equal to 46,000 such lunations. If this last number be again divided by 115, the number of days required for a revolution of Mercury, the quotient is 400, which is a round number in the vigesimal system and which was therefore denoted by a single word, by Bák in the Maya (according to Stoll) and by Huna in the Cakchiquel (according to Seler). 1,364,360, therefore, is a Huna of lunar revolutions multiplied by the number of days in the Mercury period. Later on we shall find the lunar revolution fixed at  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days.

3) 1,366,560. This is the most comprehensive number of the entire Manuscript, for it is divisible into each of the following periods:—Those of the Señores de la noche or Lords of the Cycle ( $9 \times 151,840$ ; this is, however, the first number of the top row), the Tonalamatls ( $260 \times 5256$ ), the old official years ( $360 \times 3796$ ), the solar years ( $365 \times 3744$ ), the Venus years ( $584 \times 2340$ ), the Mars years ( $780 \times 1752$ ), the Venus-solar periods ( $2920 \times 468$ ), the solar year-Tonalamatls ( $18,980 \times 72$ ), the Venus, solar, Tonalamatl periods ( $37,960 \times 36$ ), and the periods which are generally designated Ahau-Katuns ( $113,880 \times 12$ ).

We have next to consider the intervals which elapse between the three dates.

1) From 1,352,400 to 1,364,360 is 11,960 days, which period we have already found once on this page by computation.

11,960, however, is equal to  $104 \times 115$  and  $46 \times 260$ , i.e., the Mercury revolution and the Tonalamatl combined. 11,960 is again equal to  $32 \times 365 + 280$ , and from the year 10 Kan to 3 Kan it is actually 32 years, and from the date 18 Zip to 18 Kayab it is, in fact, 280 days. The day I Ahau must be common to both dates.

2) From 1,364,360 to 1,366,560 is 2200 days, as the Manuscript expressly states. 2200, however, is equal to  $8 \times 260 + 120$ , and the distance from the day I Ahau to IV Ahau is in fact exactly 120 days. Further  $2200 = 6 \times 365 + 10$ ; from the year 3 Kan to 9 Ix it is 6 years and from the date 18 Kayab to 8 Cumhu it is 10 days.

3) From these two statements the third follows. The distance from 1,352,400 to 1,366,560 is 14,160. This contains first the 14040, in which both the Tonalamatl and the old official year of 360 days meet, and second 120, which is again the interval between I Ahau and IV Ahau. But 14,160 is also equal to  $38 \times 365 + 290$ , and the interval between 10 Kan and 9 Ix is of course 38 years, and from 18 Zip to 8 Cumhu it is 290 days.

The numbers with which we have had to do here will again occupy our attention further on, especially the 2920 and the 37,960 on pages 46-50, the 11,960 and 115 on pages 51-58, and the 14,040 on page 73.

That these computations are not confined to the Dresden Manuscript is proved by the cross of Palenque, where we find in signs A B 16 precisely the date I Ahau 18 Zotz, a Tonalamatl before 18 Kayab, in D 1 C 2 exactly the difference 2200 and in D3 C 4 the date IV Ahau 8 Cumhu. This is in favor of the theory that our Manuscript did not originate far from Palenque.

Now, the question finally arises as to what may, strictly speaking, be considered the significance of these numbers, dates and differences.

In the first place, I would recall the fact that the dates of the monuments of Copan and Quirigua, which doubtless refer to present time, are in the neighborhood of 1,400,000. The high numbers of our Manuscript, so far as they are in question here, form first a group, which extends from about 1,200,000 to 1,280,000, and then there is a blank, and next a large group extending

from about 1,350,000 to 1,480,000, then another blank and lastly a group extending from about 1,520,000 to 1,580,000. If we assume that our Manuscript belonged to about the same date as these inscriptions, then the three numbers discussed here would extend over a past period lying about 160-170 years back, when a new period of importance had begun probably dating from the immigration of the Aztecs into Mexico, which they placed in the first half of the 14th century (see "Weltall," Vol. 5. pp. 374-377). Now, however, the number 1,366,560 contains the statement that 3744 years ago (each year having 365 days) an event must have occurred, which can hardly be anything other (according to the belief of the Mayas) than the creation of mankind. Hence all the *historical* dates of the Mayas were computed from this starting-point. But how did this event come to have the date IV Ahau 8 Cumhu?

In my opinion this date is to be regarded only as the result of the far more important date I Ahau 18 Kayab, lying 2200 days earlier. Day 17, Ahau, belongs, without doubt, to the chief of the gods, and as the first week day it must have been especially sacred. The prophecies of the Tonalamatl preferably begin with the Ahau and with the I. The series on the page under discussion, constructed with the difference 2920 as a basis, begins with I Ahau, and the three series on pages 46-50 also have the same day as the zero point of departure. I Ahau is therefore the starting-point of the astronomical computations as IV Ahau is of the historical.

Now, however, all the periods of 260 days end each time with I Ahau. Why is precisely this day chosen here, which is the 18th day of the month Kayab, therefore in the year 3 Kan, and lying 2200 days earlier than the historical date?

Day 18 Kayab is our June 18th. In my treatise "Schildkröte und Schnecke in der Mayaliteratur" (1892), I have sought to prove that the tortoise served as symbol of the summer solstice, that the sign of Kayab was the head of a tortoise, and that probably the 18th of June was regarded as the longest day. The middle one of the three series on pages 46-50 begins with exactly this date, I Ahau 18 Kayab.

But whence come the 2200 days? I will offer a suggestion which may serve until a better theory is propounded. Let us assume that each of the five principal planets had in succession regulated its time of revolution by this astronomical starting-point, thus:—sun 365, moon 356, Mercury 115, Venus 584, and Mars 780 days, these numbers added together give exactly 2200. It will scarcely excite surprise that I should set down the lunar year at 356 days (and not at the usual 354 days) for there are  $12 \times 29\frac{1}{2}$  lunations in a year and we thought we had already found this period on this page, while discussing the number 1,364,360; also on pages 51–58, in addition to the half lunar year of 177 days, we shall find one of 178 days. Were the planets therefore created 2200 days before the appearance of mankind? Jupiter and Saturn, of course, with their 397 and 380 days are probably not considered here, because their periods of revolution so nearly correspond to that of the sun, and on pages 51–60 they are also treated as of secondary importance.

I confess I am quite unable to discover what may have happened 11,960 days before the creation of the stars—possibly the birth of one of the principal deities. Perhaps one of my fellow-students may succeed in finding an answer in one of the creation myths.

We come now to the 40 hieroglyphs on the left half of the page. These are intended simply to familiarize the reader with those signs which are of importance in the calendrical-astronomical portions of the Manuscript. Since no phonetic system of writing existed, we cannot, of course, expect that the scribe should have explained these signs.

Signs 1–4, which are mostly destroyed, can hardly denote anything other than the four quarters of the globe, at least we can still recognize in 4 the sign for the east, which has also the fourth place in pages 46–50. They stand thus together five times in the middle of the left side of pages 46–50, which pertain to this subject. 5 to 9 are the sign for Venus repeated 5 times, probably denoting the four parts of its revolution as on pages 46–50 and also the revolution as a whole. In connection with this first appearance of the Venus sign, I would mention that

the same hieroglyph also occurs in the Tro-Cort., *e.g.*, Cort. 25c, though this Manuscript contains little else that is astronomical, yet it also has the rectangular heavenly shields.

10. This is a well-known form of the Moan sign. In the Globus, Volume LXV, 1894, I sought to make it appear probable that the Moan also denoted the Pleiades, with whose disappearance and reappearance the beginning of the years seems to be connected. Likewise on page 50, where the 2920-period ends, the Venus and Moan signs appear at the top on the right-hand side.

11 and 12 are the same sign, being that of the 13th Uinal (Mac), with which 260 days of the year end, and hence this sign is also used as the sign of the Tonalamatl. The repetition seems to show, that not until the 73 Tonalamatls of the period of 18,980 days are doubled—thus obtaining the number 37,960 of such importance here—are the sun and Venus periods brought into unison (with the whole system).

13. The Kin sign (sun, day) with the superfix, which in all probability expresses conjunction, union, and which, in my opinion, we also see on page 51, combined with Kin and Imix, as the sign for 18,980 days, is used here after the two Tonalamatls to denote the doubling of this period.

14-18. If the preceding signs led us to the Venus-solar period and to the continuation of this subject on pages 46-50, these five hieroglyphs bring us to the Mercury-lunar period and later, on pages 51-58, which are devoted to the same period, we shall find a parallel especially on the last page. First comes 14, which, as has been acknowledged, is the sign for  $20 \times 360 = 7200$  days. 15, a hand holding a rectangle divided by a cross into four parts, is, I believe, the sign for the period of 20 days augmented to 21 by the 1 in front of it. The much more distinct form of sign 16 on the middle of page 58 and also at the top of page 53, should be compared with the sign as given here. The top part is the familiar Ben-Ik sign denoting the 10th and 19th days, and the bottom is the sign of the 14th division of 20 days, which make up the year. Now, however, the 10th day, when it becomes the 19th of the next 20 days, is distant from the first 29 days. The prefix consists of two parts:—First two small circles

joined by a zigzag line, which I think denotes the division of a day into halves; the sign would then equal  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days, i. e., very nearly the true lunar month. Second, of two vertical lines, which might denote a doubling. The whole would then be equal to  $2 \times 29\frac{1}{2} = 59$ . I admit that this interpretation is very artificial and I should be very glad if a better explanation could be found. On the other hand the 17th hieroglyph becomes quite clear when it is compared with the parallel passage on page 58; it is  $13 \times 360 = 4680$  days, a third of the remarkable period of 14,040 days.

Thus we have

Hieroglyph 14	=	7200
" 15	=	21
" 16	=	59
" 17	=	4680
		<hr/>
		11960,

which is exactly the lunar-Mercury period.

The sign Xul=conclusion, end, is fittingly added in 18 to the end of this period, as also on page 58. This sign is very common on pages 61 and 62 at the end of the long periods.

From signs 19 and 20 we see that the four parts of the Venus year are also about to be treated of here, that is, the periods of 236, 90, 250 and 8 days respectively, which are discussed on pages 46-50. For 19 is the sign for Venus, and 20 is a hand with a knife as a superfix, which divides the Venus revolution. This hand appears 20 times in like manner on the pages mentioned above.

Signs 21-25 represent five gods, who in all probability are N, F, H, the bat-god and A. These are the same signs which are repeated twice on the left-hand side of pages 46-50, both times at the beginning and end of the period of 236 days, that is, the period during which Venus is the morning star and which is under the dominion of the east. The fact that there is a 4 with N has reference to the four forms which this Uayeyab god assumes. Now we ought to expect a similar treatment of the periods of the planet, which are under the rule of the south, west and north, but there is no room for this. Instead, we find in 26, 27 and 28 three different signs plainly belonging together, the

first of which is the day Caban, *i. e.*, the earth; the second may be Muluc denoting rain and water; the third is Chuen (the ape) which fittingly denotes the north, for Chuen denotes the little bear, as I have proved in my treatise on the day-signs of the Mayas. The Chuen sign in 28 also has a prefix, which probably refers to the night-god D. I find exactly the same combination in signs 8 A and 8 B of the inscription on the Cross of Palenque, but I must leave to others the task of connecting 26 and 27 likewise with the north, which is very evident in 27 (Muluc).

Sign 29 is entirely effaced. Nevertheless, I am positive that it represented the day IV Ahau, the beginning of Maya chronology, for 30 may still be identified as 8 Cumhu belonging to IV Ahau, and sign 31 is the same sign as 18, *i. e.*, the sign Xul=the end, and denoting here the end of the long period.

The comprehensive hieroglyphs, 29-31, stand here in the wrong place. A more suitable position for them would be before 19 or just after 35. For they are intended to specify the periods during which Venus is in the west and south, *i. e.*, the time during which it is the evening star and the period of its inferior conjunction.

Sign 32 is the black deity, L according to Schellhas, here denoting the west, and 33 is the Venus sign with the prefix denoting division. In the same way we find these two signs together on page 46 at the right in the middle series, where presumably the four Venus periods are specified in close succession. The black deity is also found on page 50 in the middle of the page in the beginning, at the end of a period of 250 days. On page 24 it has as a prefix the sign Imix with three rows of dots proceeding from it. Imix, however, among the Mayas and Aztecs (as Cipactli), under some circumstances often, and under others always, denotes the first of the 20 days. Hence this sign may mean:—here begins the Venus period of 250 days.

34-35. The sign for the south still remains to be found. Sign 35 is again the Venus hieroglyph. In 34 we should expect to find one of the five gods of the south, which are found on pages 46-50, *e.g.*, the Moan, who is represented on page 47 as the regent of this cardinal point. But there is no figure of a god here, and in place of it we find set down here, as on page 47, middle,

right-hand, an actual date as the beginning of this short southern period of only eight days. It is the date 10 Zip (third month), the month sign of which does indeed suggest a hieroglyph of the Moan. Now, if we recall that in hieroglyph 21 the god N is designated in exactly the same way by an actual date, viz:—4 Zac (11th month), then we see that the interval between 4 Zac and 10 Zip of the second year following, is exactly  $236+90+250 = 576$  days, and this corresponds exactly to the interval of time from the beginning of the period when Venus is in the east to the beginning of the period when she is in the south. If we knew in what years the morning star made its first appearance on February 4th and disappeared as the evening star on the 3d of September, we should make some progress in the comprehension of this subject, but not much, since these events fall approximately on the same dates after each period of 8 years.

36-40. The last five of the 40 signs appear in the same order again on pages 46-50, *one* sign on each page, in the middle group of the right-hand half of the page at the beginning of the third line, but with this difference, that on page 24 each sign has the same prefix, which is wanting on pages 46-50, where a similar hieroglyph always *follows*. From their position on pages 46-50 it follows that these are hieroglyphs of five gods, each of whom belongs to a whole Venus year of 584 days. I am not very sure in regard to these gods. I prefer to call 36 K, 37 F, 38 E and 40 A. Sign 39 with the person crouching, I am obliged to leave entirely unsettled. We shall find this hieroglyph again, *e.g.*, on pages 47 and 49 right, middle. Let it suffice that in these five signs we have a repetition of the Venus-solar period of 2920 days, with which we will end the discussion of this page. Only F and A have already been met with among the five gods denoted by hieroglyphs 21-25.

### Pages 25 — 28.

As these four pages, which are the beginning of the back of the first part of the Manuscript, not only belong together, but also display a parallel arrangement of their separate parts, the corresponding parts will be considered together as a whole.



There are seven of these parts on each page, viz:—the column of day-signs on the left hand; the top, middle and bottom pictures, and lastly the top, middle and bottom groups of hieroglyphs; but I will consider the pictures and hieroglyphs of the same section as belonging together.

### 1. The Columns of Day-Signs.

On the left-hand side of each page two days are repeated 13 times. They are as follows:—On page 25 Eb and Ben, on page 26 Caban and Ezanab, on page 27 Ik and Akbal, and on page 28 Manik and Lamat. Cyrus Thomas first made the important discovery that these pages represent the transition from one year into the next, but held the erroneous opinion that the last two days of each of the four kinds of years were treated of on each page. While Seler, on the other hand, found that we have here to do with the last day of one year and the first of the following year, and that, therefore, Ben, Ezanab, Akbal and Lamat are the beginnings of the years and thus of the 20-day periods. The years, however, were always named after their second day (*i.e.*, Kan, Muluc, Ix and Cauac years), since the New Year's Day was considered unlucky and it was the practice of the Mayas to conceal the real starting-point.

These four pages, therefore, extend over  $13 \times 52$  years, that is, over a period of 18,980 days, after which period all the calendar dates are repeated. A list of all these dates is given in "The Maya and Tzental Calendars" by William E. Gates (Cleveland, 1900).

The transition from the Muluc to the Ix years is represented on page 25; from the Ix to the Cauac years on page 26; from the Cauac to the Kan years on page 27, and from the Kan to the Muluc years on page 28. The Ix years are represented first, because the beginning of the historical chronology lies in an Ix year (IV Ahau; 8 Cumhu). This section treats of ceremonies, especially of the setting up of the idols at the changing of the year, which I can pass over here since they have already been described by Diego de Landa and in our own day by Cyrus Thomas in his "Study of the Manuscript Troano," and elsewhere.

## 2. The Top Pictures.

The principal representation on all the four pages is a priest, but disguised as an animal with the head of a beast of prey as a mask (always the same one) and also with a tail. He is pictured with the same three articles in each of the four representations, viz:—First, in his right hand, the staff of office with the hand at the top, which, according to Seler, "*Mittel-Amerik. Musikinstrum.*," p.112, is the rattle-stick, second the incense-pouch, i.e., for copal, and third in his left hand a rattle, or, according to Schellhas, "*Vergleichende Studien*" (1880), a fan. There is one point, however, in which the first two pages differ from the other two; on the first two the priest is walking on dry land and on the second two through a stream of water. Was the city, to which this calendar especially refers, bordered in two directions by water, so that the road led across it?

On all the four pages, however, the priest carries on his back a different deity, and I cannot find out by what rule these gods are connected with one another, or with the one which is represented below them, or with the years. On page 25 the god is B, on 26 he has the form of a jaguar (Ix), on 27 he is undoubtedly E, and on page 28 he is the god A, Cimi.

Now to the left of the priest on each page there is one of the familiar Chuen bundles, such as are also frequently found in the *Tro-Cortesianus*. Here, on pages 25–28, there are always three of these Chuen signs in a bunch. If Chuen really denotes the eighth day (which, of course, is only possible when  $\text{Kan}=1$ ), and at the same time the period of 8 days, then in this passage these three Chuen signs would properly designate the 24 days which elapse *before* the last day of the year, which is the last day of the 18th month. In the same way we shall find the Chuen bundle appropriately given this meaning on pages 42c–45c. Likewise the simple Chuen sign at the top of page 52 seems to denote 8 days. But what do the Chuen bundles in the *Tro-Cortesianus* mean, some of which are much larger?

In close proximity to these Chuen bundles we find numbers as follows:—on page 25 numbers 8 and 9, on 26 number 13, on 27 number 2 and on 28 number 13. I can offer no opinion,

which would be even approximately acceptable in regard to the meaning of these numerals, but we shall discuss them later.

### 3. The Top Hieroglyphs.

I shall discuss these glyphs in this place, although each group seems to relate not merely to the top picture, but to the whole page. There are 16 on each page, and arranged as follows:—

1	2	9	10
3	4	11	12
5	6	13	14
7	8	15	16.

Unfortunately, the writing at the top is obliterated, which makes it impossible to understand not merely this passage, but also those on all the rest of these pages. Of the 16 signs in the top line only one is legible, and that is the first on page 28. This is the usual cross *b*; as a comprehensive heading it perhaps occupied places 1 and 9 on each page, alternating with another sign in 2 and 10.

In spite of this obliteration there are a few points which can be profitably discussed here.

I would call attention first to signs 7 and 8 on page 25. The first seems to contain twice repeated the figure, which is thought to represent eagle feathers, and which we found on pages 10b and 13a, for example. As this double character is also used to change the 360-sign into a 7200-sign, so it may also combine the 52 years of this passage. The 8th sign on page 25 is the head with the tuft of hair and no underjaw, which I think refers to fast-days, such as might properly occur at the transition point of one long period to another.

The sign for the year stands five times on the other three pages, which is in keeping with their contents. On page 26 it appears three times. This page treats of the transition of the *Ix* to the *Cauac* years. In the 6th place the *Ix* sign seems actually to be used as a prefix, in 7 the prefix is plainly the *Kin-Cauac* sign, just as on page 37a, and in 5 the prefix is probably *Ezanab*, the beginning-day of the *Cauac* years. At this last place the suffix is the same as that which we often see with the year sign on pages 13c–14c. On page 27, in the 7th place, the year sign

has a prefix and a suffix, which seem to indicate that here it was intended to represent 365 as separated into  $5 \times 73$  or  $360 + 5$ . Lastly, on page 28 the 8th sign can be explained as meaning that the ritual year of 364 days is separated into 4 Bacab periods of 91 days each.

Resembling the year sign in form, and placed near it on these pages, is the following sign:—



This sign frequently appears on pages 8b-9b, 16b-17b, 17c-20c. We find it with slight variations once on each of the four pages 25-28. It is the 6th on page 25; the 8th on 26; the 6th on 27; the 6th on 28. Its lower part, especially the (phallic?) sign added at the left, suggests the hieroglyphs of the Bacabs, as we find them on pages 52, 55, 56, etc.; they might refer to the separation of the ritual year of 364 days into  $4 \times 91$  days. On the other hand it has been considered simply as the reproduction of the carrying-frame pictured below it (compare above under page 17c.)

While the hieroglyphs, hitherto discussed, demonstrate the connection between the parts on the left of the four pages, two other signs prove the connection of the portions on the right.

One of these looks like the Ik sign surrounded by a dotted circle; it occurs on page 25 as the 13th sign, on page 26 as the 15th, on page 27 as the 14th and on page 28 as the 15th. To this sign are prefixed successively the numbers 9, 7, 11 and 6.

The second is unquestionably the hieroglyph for the numeral 20 or for the moon. It is effaced on page 25 and on pages 27 and 28 has a prefix, which on page 26 is used as a superfix. This sign is the 14th on page 25, the 16th on page 26, the 15th on page 27 and the 16th on page 28. The prefixed numbers are 7, 16, 5 and 6.

The meaning of these two signs and that of the apparently irregular numbers is still a mystery. The latter will be discussed presently.

The 4th sign on all the four pages seems to refer to a period like the one hitherto discussed. On page 26 the sign resembles that for the 13th Uinal (Mac) and hence appears to refer to the Tonalamatl, as in the first column on page 24. Above it is the sign for the south. The corresponding hieroglyphs of the other pages are obliterated, but strange to say the vestiges suggest that they too had *below* them the sign for the south. Now the south and the Bacab of the south preside over the fourth quarter of the year from which ensues the transition to the new year in question here.

Among the signs on the left side we should expect to find those of the gods to whom the expiring year belonged. On page 25 it ought to be B. Sign 5, however, though it can with difficulty be identified, points rather to god K. Sign 3 on page 26 corresponds better; this is the hieroglyph of the tiger already known to us, which is carried by the priest in the upper section of page 8a; here its prefix is the sign for the west. On page 27 we ought to see the grain-god E carried by the priest; his hieroglyph may be destroyed, but sign 5, which is Kan-Imix (food and drink) is his determinative. Finally the 5th sign on page 28 is, just as we should expect, the hieroglyph of A and, in addition, we find his determinative in 7.

But what is to be said of the fact that the tiger appears again on page 28 in sign 3, and this time with the sign for the east?

The Ahau on page 27, sign 16, refers to the god D of the middle section.

There may be some reference hereto sacrifice, thus:—the 11th sign on page 25 is Kan-Imix, the 12th on page 27 is Kan, which is followed in the 13th sign on page 27 by another one with a Yax and a suggestion of a second Kan-Imix. Also the curious sign in the 8th place on page 27, which we have already discussed under page 8b, is used to denote the sacrifice on pages 18a and 15b. Here its position with reference to sign 6 is the same as on page 8b. On page 26 the prefix of sign 13, which is half destroyed, may be recognized as a serpent. Signs 12 and 15 on page 25 are unintelligible. Unfortunately the following signs are entirely effaced:—Sign 1 on pages 25, 26 and 27, as well as 2 on all the four pages, 3 on page 25, 9 and 10 on all the four pages, 11 on

pages 26, 27 and 28, 12 on pages 26 and 28, 13 on page 28, 14 on pages 26 and 28, and 16 on page 27.

#### 4. The Middle Pictures.

On each page at the right there is a house, the back wall of which is always marked with the cross often met with. In front of the house with his back turned towards it, sits a deity. Each of the four deities has the front of his body covered with a gala mantle. Now we know that the god of the new year was set up before the house of the chieftain. On page 25 the god is K with his eyes apparently destroyed, and on page 26 it is B with a Kin sign on his head covering, hence designated here as a sun or day-god. On page 27 the god is D, and on page 28, A with the cross-bones on his robe, his own hieroglyph on his cheek, and the Akbal sign on his forehead. Only on the last page, therefore, and apparently by mistake, the god in the top picture is the same as in the middle picture.

At the left of each page, i, e., opposite the house and the god, is a flaming altar, bearing the sign Ix equivalent to fire.

The centre, between the gods and the altars, is occupied by vessels of which there are two on each of the first three pages and but one on the fourth; they contain food, without doubt intended for the sacrificial feast. On page 25 the lower vessel contains Kan (maize) and the upper probably a food prepared from Kan. Or are the spines on the back of the iguana indicated on this vessel? (Compare 40c and Cort. 8 and 12c). The contents of the lower vessel on page 26 are still unknown (birds?). The upper vessel contains a Kan, but the sign has a superfix, which corresponds to the sign for the west. On page 27 the lower vessel contains a fish and the upper the sign for the south. Lastly, the single vessel on page 28 contains the cross-bones (mammal?) and above them the Kan sign repeated three times.

Finally here on the last three pages, we find some numbers, which are still undetermined; on page 26 there is a 7 with the lower vessel, and on page 27 with the upper vessel two dots with a cross between them (perhaps this may mean  $20-2=18$ , which is used in place of the usual clumsy numeral?). On page 28 we

see above the vessel a 6, and below it, in place of a second vessel, a double Chuen sign, as in the upper section of the page, therefore it can hardly be the Akbal sign resembling Chuen.

### 5. The Middle Hieroglyphs.

On each page these signs consist of but *one* line containing 5, 6, 3 and 3 glyphs respectively. The first of these signs in all of the four places is the same (*o*), which very suitably refers to the change in the year. The second sign is always the hieroglyph of the god represented in the middle section:—K on page 25, B as the sun-god on page 26, and D on page 27. The second sign on page 28, which is the head without an underjaw and with the prefixed four, probably referring to four fast-days, must, therefore, be an uncommon sign for A, who was similarly designated on page 25 in sign 8 of the upper section.

If the gods in the top thirds are those of the past year and those in the middle the gods of the year just beginning, we should expect to find in each top third the deity who is represented in the middle of the preceding page. But this does not hold good. For then we should expect to find K on page 26 and not the tiger, on page 27 B or G and not E, on page 28 D and not A, and on page 25 A and not B.

Hence there is some confusion here. Yet it seems to be in the nature of a correction, that on page 26 the third sign, next to that of the sun-god, is actually the sign for E who is in the top section on page 27, and that the sixth sign is Kan-Imix belonging to this god.

On pages 25 and 26 this line also refers to the past year, *i.e.*, to the year set down in the top third. The fourth sign on page 25 is a Manik, *i.e.*, originally a grasping hand denoting taking away, disappearance, and the fifth sign on this page is a Muluc, which seems to denote the ending of the Muluc years. The fifth sign on page 26, is, in fact, the tiger pictured above.

The lunar hieroglyph as the third sign on page 25 and the *a* as the fourth on page 26 are strange and unaccountable. Both appear to be almost without significance here and seem almost like mere points between the names of gods in groups of two each.

The Ahau as the third sign on page 27 is the usual determinative of D, whose hieroglyph stands beside it.

On page 28 the main part of the third sign corresponds to the sixth of the upper section. I do not know, however, how to explain either the upper part suggesting a mat or the familiar leaf-shaped prefix.

#### 6. The Bottom Pictures.

In the left-hand lower corner of each page we see the sign for the year of 360 days, which at the same time designates the heap of stones, on which the stelae were erected, the two thick black lines indicating the two columns of hieroglyphs usually found on them. A tree is growing out of this sign, having on its trunk an abbreviated Cauac sign, at least, on pages 26, 27 and 28, which probably refers to rain as the most desired event of the year. The tree on page 25 has no leaves, but the top is carved into the shape of the head of the god B. In the other three cases it has leaves, but instead of ending in the god's head the tree is draped with a mantle and a breech-clout, and a serpent is coiled about it denoting a period of time (here, the year). Furthermore there are foot-prints on the trunk or the drapery of the tree, which represent it as the goal of a pilgrimage.

If the top and middle thirds refer to the mere transportation of the idols, the bottom thirds refer to the feasts connected with this act, or, at any rate, to those dedicated to the *new* god. For we see here on page 25 the god B, on 26 the god K, on 27 A and on 28 D, i. e., the same deities as in the middle sections, yet so placed that the first two and the last two have changed places.

Each of the four deities hold in one hand a hen with its head cut off; "*degollavan una gallina*" is the statement made by Landa concerning these feasts. Perhaps all four gods, at any rate the last three, are scattering grain; this was one form of divination; we found the other on page 2. There are besides, on every page, several small objects between the two pictures, just as in the middle section. On page 25 the object is probably an altar, but instead of the flame it has the number 19. Above this is the sign for the west (the 1x days) with that for the sun, and on top of them the sign



which we found in the middle section of page 26 as the contents of the lower vessel. On page 26 we see a vessel containing a bird, then another whose contents are indicated by Yax and a double Kan sign. Above it is the sign for the moon or for 20 with a prefix, and above this a 9. At the bottom of page 27 there is a vessel containing two Kan signs and a fish; above this another vessel the contents of which are the same as we found in the vessel in the middle section of page 26 and in that of the lower section of page 25. Above these is again the sign for the moon or 20 with a superfix, which is the same as the prefix on page 26, and beside it is a 16. Page 28 has the usual haunch of venison (Landa:— "una pierna de venado"), above this is a vessel with a bird and Kan and above this again the sign for the moon or for 20 with the same superfix and the numeral 15. I shall discuss below the numbers scattered over these four pages.

#### 7. The Bottom Hieroglyphs.

These hieroglyphs also form but *one* line on each page and each line contains six hieroglyphs. The *first* of each line is always the same (*p*). It consists of a surface divided into four quadrants thus suggesting the four cardinal points, the four Bacabs presiding over them and the four kinds of years. The superfix seems to be the abbreviated hieroglyph of the north; the sign for the north, however, is Muluc and these four pages begin with the Muluc years.

The *second* sign is the head of D as the supreme god; to this a Yax is joined on pages 26–28 as the symbol of strength, and on page 25, but probably by mistake, the abbreviated sign for the west.

The *third* sign always represents one of the four cardinal points:— on page 25 the east, on page 26 the south, on page 27 the west and on page 28 the north; here then the usual order is reversed and the signs are set down according to the diurnal instead of the annual course of the sun, probably occasioned merely by exchanging the sign for the west (Ix), which belongs on page 25, with that for the east (Kan), which belongs on page 27.

The other three signs do not stand in the same order on every page.

The *fifth* sign on pages 26 and 28 and the *fourth* on page 27 show correspondence most clearly. This sign is always a head, undoubtedly that of the god pictured in the bottom third. But on page 25 it is the hieroglyph of E, who is pictured on the top of page 27, instead of that of B.

In the same way the 6th sign on page 25, the 4th on page 26, the 5th on page 27 and the 4th on page 28 have something in common. One element of the hieroglyph is always the sign for the year of 360 days, combined on page 25 with cross-bones and the Cauac sign, on 26 with Yax and Kan, and on 27 and 28 simply with Yax.

The most puzzling and divergent of these hieroglyphs are the remaining ones. The 4th on page 25 has an oblique cross (or bones?) and the abbreviated glyph for the west, the 6th on page 26 is the head of E, the 6th on page 27 is the 360-day sign combined with Kin and Cauac, and the 6th on page 28 is the usual Kan-Imix sign. Here, too, there seems to have been a displacement.

Before I leave the four pages 25-28, I will glance at the numerals, which are scattered over them and which apparently have no connection with one another. I have discussed these numerals in my article "Die Mayahieroglyphen" in Volume LXXI, No. 5, of the *Globus*, and the following is borrowed therefrom.

First of all, I believe that I proved there, that the sign composed of two dots with a cross between them is an abbreviation for the usual clumsy representation of the numeral 18 and designates it like a duodeviginti by 20-2. Next, that in this passage as on pages 18a, 18c, 19c, 46b and 50c, the sign is combined with the hieroglyphs Yax-Kin. Third, that it is closely related to the god D, inasmuch as it stands on page 27b close beside the picture of that god.

Assuming this as a known fact, we find scattered over these four pages the following numbers:—

25:	9,	7,	8,	9,	19,
26:	7,	16,	13,	7,	9,
27:	11,	5,	2,	18,	16,
28:	6,	6,	13,	6,	15.

It is very remarkable that the sum of the numbers on each of the first three pages is equal to 52, and as an accidental freak it would be most surprising; somewhere on the fourth page six units may have been omitted; but perhaps the 6, which stands above the *two* Chuen signs in the centre, is to be counted twice. The 52, however, designates the very 52 years, which are treated of on these four pages.

As yet I know no reason to account for the fact that the 52 is here separated into these apparently very irregular numbers. The discovery of this reason would be an important step in advance. Or does it mean 52 *days*, perhaps those which follow a Tonalamatl coming in the middle of the year?

Page 28 is followed in the Manuscript by three empty pages. The scribe's object in reserving them is beyond our ken; possibly they were intended to represent the period of 8 years.

Pages 29-45 (i. e., to the end of the first part of the Manuscript) all belong together. After the Maya manner there is very little system displayed in their arrangement, and though here and there there may be occasion to consider the three parts of each page consecutively, I will discuss them here as follows:—First, the top thirds, which are most difficult owing to the destruction of a large portion of them; then the middle, and last the bottom thirds. They all consist in great part, with a few interruptions, of representations of the regular Tonalamatl, such as we find represented from the beginning of the Manuscript to page 23.

The element which these pages have in common is the fact that the god B, who can hardly be Kukulcan or Quetzalcoatl, occurs on almost all of them. He is the god of wind, fire, breath, i. e., the true god of life and is here represented in his relation to the most varied manifestations and activities of a human being, so that this section bears a certain resemblance to the Tro-Cortesianus. With this is closely connected his relation to all

four cardinal points, which so often occur. He may have been the local god of the region from whence this Manuscript came; in the Tro-Cort. It seems rather to be C who lays claim to this office.

**Pages 29 a — 30 a.**

XI 13 XI 13 XI 13 XI 13 XI

Lamat This is a Tonalamatl of  $4 \times 65$  days, each part  
Ben subdivided into  $5 \times 13$  days. The four days written  
Ezanab on the left are those which may begin the year.

Akbal. In each of the five sections B is pictured in a sitting posture, the first four times on a tree (the tree of life rather than the sacrificial tree).

In the first picture he holds in one hand the haunch of venison, so often occurring as an offering, the last time on page 28; the object above it is probably the Kan sign. There is a vessel at the god's feet, probably a receptacle for the venison, bearing the hieroglyph of the 13th day Cib, which, however, refers rather to a bird.

In the second picture an animal with a protruding tongue lies on its back at the feet of the god, who kneels upon its stomach. This probably represents the lightning-dog as vanquished. The same animal is pictured on the next page and also on page 40b and perhaps on page 60. There are a number of small dots around B's head, which on page 11c we attempted to interpret as the starry sky.

I can find nothing of special importance in the third and fourth pictures, but in the fifth, B is sitting in a house, which is marked repeatedly with the sign Caban (ground). Here the god is holding the hatchet (machete) in his hand, as if prepared for some terrestrial activity. Four hieroglyphs in the usual order belong to each of the five pictures. They are almost entirely destroyed, but the vestiges show that the fourth sign was always that of B, while the third sign with the first picture had the abbreviated hieroglyph of the west as a prefix; with the second picture it had that of the south, and therefore with the third and fourth it must certainly have had the signs of the east and north. ¶We should expect the signs with these pre-

fixes to contain references to Ix, Cauac, Kan and Muluc, but they are not distinguishable.

Thus B is represented in pictures 1-4 as ruler of the four cardinal points and in 5 as the ruler of the earth in general.

#### **Pages 30 a — 31 a.**

This passage looks like an amplification of the middle picture on page 29a. Here B is represented with the hatchet in his left hand and holding aloft by the tail with his right hand the animal, which is spitting out something upon a stepped pyramidal structure, probably the pyramid of a teocalli. That this is probably meant to represent lightning is rendered almost a certainty by the picture on page 40b. In this passage there are several red and black numerals scattered around the animal in an irregular manner, which we find nowhere else in our Manuscript, but with which the Tro-Cortesianus has made us familiar. The sum of the black numbers still legible is 23, probably a 3 is effaced and the sum should be 26, the sum which so often occurs in the Cod. Troano 8-13 with the animal represented there. The red numbers likewise do not admit of exact determination. This passage also contained hieroglyphs, four standing side by side on each of the two pages. The legible portion is limited to the Cimi sign in the third place, perhaps an Imix in the second, and possibly an Ahau in the first.

#### **Pages 31 a — 32 a.**

In my article "Zur Entzifferung, etc., VI," published in the year 1897, I discussed this passage more in detail, and the following will be in continuation of what I stated there.

The real aim of the computation on these pages is to find a number in which the following periods of time are united with the Tonalamatl of 260 days:— 1. The ritual year of 364 days, and consequently also a quarter of it, the Bacab period of 91 days. 2. The period of 104 days, being the number of days which remain after a Tonalamatl has been deducted from a ritual year. The hypothesis advanced by Mrs. Zelia Nuttall ("Note on the Ancient Mexican Calendar System," Stockholm, 1894) and also the entirely different opinion held by Mr. Charles P. Bowditch ("The Lords of the Night and the Tonalamatl of the Codex

Borbonicus" in the American Anthropologist, N. S., Vol. II, New York, 1900) prove the existence not only of merely arbitrary Tonalamatls for the purpose of prediction, as those in our Manuscript, but also of Tonalamatls having a fixed position in certain years. But after the manner peculiar to priestcraft, the number sought is found only by an indirect and mysterious process.

In the first place we find on page 32a all the days set down in the following manner:—

XIII	XIII	XIII	XIII
Manik	Cib	Chicchan	Ix
Chuen	Ahau	Muluc	Ezanab
Men	Kan	Ben	Ik
Cauac	Lamat	Caban	Cimi
Akbal	Eb	Imix	Oc.

That is to say, a series counting from the day XIII Akbal, the New Year's day of the year I Kan, recurring every 52 years, furthermore a series which shows the same difference of 91 from the day XIII Akbal to XIII Ix, XIII Chicchan, etc., and finally ends with XIII Akbal again, after it has run through a period of  $20 \times 91$ , i. e., 1820 days = 7 Tonalamatls, like a similar representation of 7 Tonalamatls on page 51. Above these 20 days, and to the left of them, numbers are set down rather irregularly, which begin with 91 and are multiples of that number. The signs of the days corresponding to these numbers are joined to them; but they are omitted with the numbers of lowest value. Hence we have:—91, 182, 273, 364 (4), 455 (5), 546 (6), 637 (7), 728 (8), 819 (9), 910 (10). Then with a bound follow 1456 and 1820; with the last number Akbal is reached in the natural way, which day the scribe had erroneously set down again with 1456 in place of Cauac.

The number 728 already united the numbers 91, 104 and 364, but did not include the number 260. This inclusion is accomplished by the number 3640 on page 32, quite on the left where we find the numbers 10 and 2, under which only a 0 has been omitted. With the usual hiatuses this series seems to end on page 31, where I think the numbers 4, 0, 16 and 0 ought to stand, but they are almost wholly effaced; this would then be  $320 \times 91$ ,  $280 \times 104$ ,  $112 \times 260$ ,  $80 \times 364 = 29,120$ .

We have thus gone far in advance of the first problem, but a second always presents itself in these series, it is that of using these periods for larger numbers, which refer to a not too remote past or to a future not too distant. The first numbers are, as a rule, in the neighborhood of 1,252,680, the close of the eleventh Ahau-Katun, and the latter in the neighborhood of 1,480,440, the close of the thirteenth Ahau-Katun. The Manuscript presents the following:—

1,272,544	1,268,540	1,538,342.
XIII Akbal	XIII Akbal	XIII Akbal
121	17	51,419
IV Ahau	IV Ahau	
8 Cumhu	8 Cumhu	IV Ahau.

In connection with this it should be noted first that I have restored the 8 in the statement of the months, and second that the two numbers on the right were found with the aid of page 63 only by an easy conjecture. For with the reading of the Manuscript 10, 13, 3, 13, 2, I do not agree, but read instead 10, 13, 13, 3, 2; the number below, however, is given in the Manuscript as 7, 2 and then a black 14 joined to a red 5; I read this 7, 2, 14, 19.

The three numbers nearest the bottom have red circles around them, indicating subtraction, or, according to my present point of view, addition.

Now let us see how the computer arrived at the large numbers.

Day XIII Akbal, the New Year's day of the 1 Kan years, is given; also the differences of the series 91 and 104, therefore also in the proportion of 7 to 8. If we combine these last two numbers by addition and then by multiplication with 260, the result is  $(7+8) \times 260 = 3900$ . If, however, 7, 8 and 3900 be combined by multiplication the product is  $7 \times 8 \times 3900 = 218,400 = 2400 \times 91 = 2100 \times 104 = 840 \times 260 = 600 \times 364 = 1120 \times (91+104)$ . We have already met with the 218,400 on page 24, which was obtained by the addition of  $33,280 + 185,120$ .

My opinion is as follows:— First 11 Ahau-Katuns = 1,252,680, were taken as a point of departure, and to this sum was

added  $15,600 = 4 \times 3900$ , and 243 as the interval between the normal date IV Ahau and XIII Akbal. The result was 1,268,523. The position of this day, however, is XIII Akbal 11 Xul (1 Ix).

Then the 3900 mentioned above was added to this number and the result was  $1,272,423 = \text{XIII Akbal 16 Pop (12 Muluc)}$ .

Then to the 1,268,523 was added the 218,400 and the sum was  $1,486,923 = \text{XIII Akbal 1 Kankin (1 Kan)}$ , the very place in that year where a Tonalamatl ends.

The following numbers were thus obtained:—

1,272,423      1,268,523      1,486,923.

These numbers are suppressed in the Manuscript. But if the encircled numbers are added to them, viz:— 121 (interval between XIII Akbal and IV Kan), 17 (interval between XIII Akbal and IV Ahau), and 51,419 ( $= 197 \times 260 + 199$ ; 199, however, is the interval between XIII Akbal and IV Ik), the result is the three large numbers set down in the Manuscript, which have the following properties:—

1)  $1,272,544 = \text{IV Kan 17 Xul (12 Muluc)}$ . This number  $= 13,984 \times 91 = 12,236 \times 104 = 3496 \times 364$ . It also  $= 4894 \times 260 + 104$ , the interval between IV Ahau and IV Kan.

2)  $1,268,540 = \text{IV Ahau 8 Mol (1 Ix)} = 4879 \times 260 = 3485 \times 364 = 74,620 \times 17$ . 17 is the interval between XIII Akbal and IV Ahau.

3)  $1,538,342 = \text{IV Ik 15 Zac (12 Muluc)}$ . It also  $= 5916 \times 260 + 182$ . The 182, however, the half of the ritual year of 364 days, is the interval between IV Ahau and IV Ik and between IV Ik and IV Kan. The fact that the interval is the same in each case is clearly the reason for the choice of the days IV Kan and IV Ik, which are otherwise not at all prominent.

It is remarkable that the third number is obtained by the addition of 51,419, i.e., of  $197 \times 260 + 199$  (there are 199 days between XIII Akbal and IV Ik). But it was evidently desirable to obtain as large a number as this. On page 63 a number of nearly similar value is associated with it, viz:—1,535,004. It is set down almost in the middle between the 13th and 14th Ahau-Katuns, for it is 57,902 days greater than 1,480,440, and 55,978 days less than 1,594,320.



Now, however, the Manuscript presents in the last column but one of page 31 a number, 2,804,100, which occupies a very unique position, since it is nearly twice as great as all the other large numbers, with the exception of those in the serpents. It must refer to the year 9 Muluc, and to the date IV Ahau 13 Mol. It has many remarkable properties, for it is:—

$$1) = 10,785 \times 260$$

$$2) = 17,975 \times 156 \text{ (156=IV Kan—IV Ahau).}$$

$$3) = 35,950 \times 78 \text{ (78=IV Ik—IV Ahau and IV Kan—IV Ik).}$$

$$4) = 719 \times 3900. \text{ We have already met with this 3900 above.}$$

Now, however, the 2,804,100 by virtue of its magnitude creates the suspicion that it may be composed of two ordinary large numbers. It might be

$$5) \quad 1,308,580 + 1,495,520, \text{ therefore } 14,380 \text{ (91+104).}$$

$$6) \quad 1,380,600 + 1,423,500, \text{ therefore } 3,900 \text{ (354+365).}$$

That is to say, the important 3900 multiplied by the days of the lunar year and also by those of the solar year, hence the 719, referred to under 4, separates into these two parts. The lunar year of  $354 = 6 \times 29 + 6 \times 30$  days was not unknown to the Mayas. We shall find its half, 177 days, several times on pages 51–58.

We might also use the two important numbers 14,040 and 18,980, the first of which is divisible by 260 and 360, and the second by 260 and 365, without remainder.

Then we have the large number desired:—

$$7) \quad 147 \times 18,980 + 14,040.$$

$$8) \quad 200 \times 14,040 - 3900.$$

What future student will penetrate more deeply into the meaning and purpose of these numbers?

We might now expect to interpret also the upper right-hand corner of page 31, but here almost everything is in a deplorable state of obliteration. In the first three of the five columns over each of the three large numbers there was a date consisting of a numeral and a hieroglyph, but these admit of no certain nor even probable determination.

Four hieroglyphs still remain in the fourth column, respecting which compare my treatise “Zur Maya-Chronologie” in the *Berliner Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* XXIII, pp. 141–155.

In the top sign I recognize an Inix with a prefix and probably also a superfix. I think this denotes the period of 18,980 days.

I am forced to pass over the second entirely, inasmuch as a red 6 inserted in it remains a mystery ( $6 \times 18,980 = 113,880?$ ).

As I stated in the above-named work, I think the third is three times the sacred period of 2920, *i.e.*, 8760 days.

Finally, the fourth sign certainly denotes the period of 7200 days.

Whether or not there was a fifth sign above the one now at the top is as uncertain as the meaning of the whole.

The most remarkable thing about it is that in three other passages of this Manuscript these three signs appear in close proximity to another. On page 61 we find the third in the 11th place in the second column, the first in the 12th place in the same column, and the fourth in the 14th place in the first column. Page 70 has the first sign in the middle of the 4th column; the second somewhat lower down in the 3d column and the 4th two places below. Finally all three signs appear in succession on the top of page 73 in the same order as on page 31.

The fifth column on page 31 may have contained another numeral belonging to the series, the loss of which is not so serious a matter, but there may have been one or two hieroglyphs above it, the obliteration of which is greatly to be deplored.

### **Pages 32 a — 39 a.**

This is a large section extending over eight pages, which is difficult of interpretation owing to the prevailing disorder and because a large part of the hieroglyphs are effaced. Here, too, the principal subject is the god B, who is represented in manifold activity. A series of numbers extends through the entire representation. I read them as follows:—

I 11 XII 28 I 12 XIII 26 XIII 12 XII 19 V 5 X 1  
XI 20 V 12 IV 6 X 8 V 5 X 7 IV 12 III 5 VIII 8 III 11 I.

There are thus 18 divisions, the different lengths of which reveal no rule. They embrace 208 days, *i.e.*,  $2 \times 104$ , which may well be considered as a continuation of the computation in the preceding section, of which the 104 was so important a

number. The red numbers are entirely lacking in the beginning, then they are very slightly indicated, and finally they are distinctly written out on pages 36-39. I assume that the scribe has set down the 4th, 3d and 2nd numbers from the end, one too little. The last number has been entirely omitted. I have supplied these omissions though in a manner somewhat different from that adopted by Cyrus Thomas, "Aids," p. 28. I would note in addition that a period such as this, consisting of 208 days=16 weeks, might be explained in an entirely different way, if there were a column of five days at the left having a difference of 8 days; then the whole would signify four Tonalamatls. But there is no such series of days.

Another point of view presents itself, however. If we take cognizance of the fact that a group of four hieroglyphs usually belongs to a picture, then it is evident that here there are such groups not for 18, but for about 22 subdivisions. It may, therefore, be assumed that about four subdivisions averaging 13 days are not specified, in which case this passage would extend not over 208, but over 260 days. The very irregularity in the arrangement of these numbers is an argument in favor of this hypothesis; it may be occasioned by the fact, that the pictures do not correspond exactly to the subdivisions. For the present, however, we shall discuss the single pictures assuming that there are 18 subdivisions.

1. Pages 32 a—33 a. Here at the very beginning it is uncertain whether the signs at the end of page 32 and at the beginning of page 33 are to be regarded as a single group of 8 hieroglyphs, as seems to follow from the numbers, or as two groups of 4 hieroglyphs each. At the end of page 32 we see two persons facing one another, one of whom, to be sure, is barely visible. The other wears a head-covering like a man's silk hat, similar to that worn by the priests on the inscriptions of Palenque. It is a remarkable fact that of the four hieroglyphs above these figures, 1, 2 and 4 (the last probably the god C) seem to have the sign for the west as a prefix, while the prefix of 3 (Imix) suggests the usual representation of the tortoise head. Below the persons there is a Kan sign, the prefix of which is also the sign for the west.

On page 33, B is represented walking and carrying the Caban sign in his hand. The first of the four hieroglyphs is the sign for B, the second is Imix, probably again with the sign for the west as a prefix, the third is an Akbal sign with Kin, and the fourth is the cross-hatched sign with Kan.

2. The rest of 33a is occupied by two persons, one of whom is clad in a gala mantle, but neither admit of further identification. They are occupied in fishing, inasmuch as they are sitting on the shore of a body of water and are either casting a net or drawing it in. There is a fish between them and above it is a vessel with something apparently cooking in it. Of the 8 hieroglyphs belonging to this picture, only the following are distinguishable:—the 1st containing an Akbal, the 3d, which is the common cross *b* with a 9, the 4th, an Imix also with 9, and of the 7th only the prefix Yax. The 3d and 4th appear again on page 35a, 28 days later.

3. Page 34, like page 3, represents a human sacrifice. The victim, very vaguely drawn, lies on a step-shaped sacrificial stone, or on the pyramid of a *teocalli*. There is a Caban (earth) sign between the sacrifice and the pyramid, and also on the walls of the buildings; the shrieking of the victim is plainly indicated. As on page 3, there are four persons in the form of gods surrounding the sacrifice, but here they are different ones. The one at the left above is the black god (L?), holding the rattle-stick (Seler, "*Mittelamer. Musikinstrumente*," p. 111), and at the right, above, F, the companion of the death-god, is sitting with a rattle in his hand. Below, the two have changed places, F is on the left and L on the right. The former is beating the drum and the latter blowing a wind-instrument. The sounds emitted by the two instruments are represented by drawings. This may, therefore, be regarded as an instrumental quartette. The following objects are also in this picture:—at the left above is a vessel the contents of which are cooking; at the left below, another vessel with three Kan signs, and at the right above, a Kan sign with a bird's head and below the food known to us from pages 27b and 29b. These four objects refer to the sacrificial feast. Lastly, at the bottom on the right there is a ladder, probably intended for scaling the pyramid. Ten hieroglyphs in

the upper line belong to this picture:—the first, which is effaced, is followed by a Cauac, then comes the cross *b*, then a Cimi appropriate to the sacrifice, and lastly a head with an Akbal eye, probably D's. The first sign in the lower row is likewise destroyed, the second sign is a Kan, the next is the cross *b*, both having a different prefix, then here too is the hieroglyph of B with Yax as a prefix, and the last is an unknown sign.

4 and 5. Page 35a. According to the numbers there are two sections here, but neither the pictures nor the hieroglyphs can with certainty be assigned to either. On the left is a house in which C sits holding a Kan sign in his hand; on the roof, as if guarding him, and also holding a Kan sign, lies the god B. In the Cort. 24b-25b, there are six gods lying on houses, within which other gods are also represented in a recumbent position. Then follow two vessels, again denoting the sacrificial feast, the contents of which are probably cooking, and which, from the sign on the second, are probably liquid. Above these are three others, one with the Cimi sign (human flesh?), one with a bird and the third with the haunch of venison. At the right of these is an implement, which is unfamiliar to me and is similar to that held in the god's hand on pages 5c and 6c. And quite on the right sits B with foot-prints pictured below him and on his clothing.

The hieroglyphs on page 35, when they were all legible, numbered 14 and were arranged in two rows. 4 of the upper row are preserved, the lower part of the first is a year-sign (?), similar to that which often appears on pages 25-28, the upper element is the cross, and the prefix is the one resembling a leaf, which occurs so frequently. The second sign is an Imix with a prefixed 9, the third a cross and the fourth a head (probably D's) with Akbal. In the second row there is a cross with a prefixed 9 (sign of the second or third month?). These two signs with the prefixed 9 are perhaps to be read as a calendar date IX Imix 9 Zip (1 Ix), as on page 33a. Ix, however, belongs to the west, which is the predominant cardinal point from 32a onward. The second sign is a compound of Kin and Akbal (day and night) which often occurs here, the third is the compound of the Moan and Caban signs with the number 1 above each, and

the fourth is the hieroglyph of B. The fifth sign is unfamiliar to me. The sixth contains an Imix with the sign for the west as a prefix, and the seventh is effaced.

At this point the representations begin to display a more orderly arrangement.

6. Page 36a. Here the head of B forms the head of a serpent (cf. pages 61 and 62) represented in pouring rain, while on page 35b it is emerging from the water. Of the four hieroglyphs 1 and 2 are entirely and 3 for the most part destroyed, and 4 is the usual Kan-Imix.

7. The lightning-beast with flames pouring forth from his forepaws and tail, is plunging down from the rectangle, which primarily designates stars and then the sky in general. This rectangle occurs for the first time here, but will often be met with later. Here it may be a combination of Mars and Venus. Of the four hieroglyphs, 1 is effaced, 2 is a compound of Kan and Kin, 3 a head with Akbal and Kin (D?) with the uplifted arm as a prefix, and 4, corresponding with the picture, is the compound of the rain sign Cauac with the prefix of the storm-god K.

8. Here B himself is the bringer of lightning. In one hand he holds a burning torch and flames are bursting from his carrying-frame. The third hieroglyph is his sign. It is doubtful whether the fourth is the hatchet (machete) or is not rather intended for an ear pierced for the purpose of ritual blood-letting, as on pages 44b and 45b; the first and second signs are rather indistinct.

9. Page 37a. Unless I am entirely mistaken, B is here represented with his arms bound behind his back. Cf. the pictures on page 2, top, and 60, bottom. Are the ends of the rope fluttering in front of the god intended to render this still more plain? Hieroglyph 1 contains the sign *t*, which resembles, but is not the same as, the year sign. This sign has already occurred frequently, especially on pages 25a-28a, and the last time on page 35 in the first hieroglyph. As on page 35, hieroglyph 4 is the compound Kin-Cauac, but here it is joined to the year-sign, i.e., it denotes the Kin-Cauac year, just as it does on page 26a. 3 is again Cauac and 2 is the hieroglyph for B.

10. Rain is falling from the heavenly shield, already seen on page 36, here however designating different planets (Mars and

Mercury?) and the figure represented in the rain is the one which we have already seen on pages 12c, 17a and 21c. It is that of the old Uayeyab god N with a hatchet in one hand and an unfamiliar object in the other like the one on page 39a, and with another unknown object on his back shaped like a shield marked with a Kin. That this figure is really meant to represent N follows from the fourth hieroglyph (which, however, is not his regular sign 5 Zac), which is repeated on the head of the figure. The lower part of the hieroglyph is replaced by the year-sign just as it is in the hieroglyph on page 47, left, middle. The third hieroglyph contains 2 Caban signs, the first and second cannot be clearly identified.

11. This is a deity which I hardly think appears elsewhere. It has an animal's head resembling that of a bear, thus recalling page 7a, and it also has the paws of a bear. Of the hieroglyphs only a Kin-Akbal is recognizable.

12. Page 38a. Here we have another heavenly shield (Mars and Venus?) and under this shield B is represented seated and strangely enough facing himself, the figures not being back to back as on page 68a. Hieroglyphs 1 to 3 are wholly and 4, which is a head, is for the most part destroyed.

13. B is here represented in very close connection with a female figure. Cf. pages 21c-23c. The representation on page 68b is a still closer parallel to this passage. The first hieroglyph is destroyed for the most part, the second is B, the third is probably only a determinative of the latter, but has the sign for the west, and the fourth is Kan-Imix.

14. B holding a Kan sign is sitting on an object, which may be meant for the stone on which the idols were set up at the change of the year. Of the hieroglyphs the third is again B, and the fourth is probably the frequent sign a. The first sign is the most remarkable. In the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. XXIII, p. 147, I stated that this was the sign for the change of the year, which is its meaning on pages 41b, 52b and 68a. The Kan year follows here after the Cauac year of page 37. The prefix of the sign is the hieroglyph for the east to which the Kan years belong. The Kan sign in B's hand also corresponds to this. The second hieroglyph is destroyed.

15. Page 39. The picture represents the lightning-beast with two flaming torches walking under the heavenly shield (Mercury and Jupiter?). Of the hieroglyphs the third belongs to B, the fourth has as a prefix the sign of the storm-god K, but otherwise admits as little of determination as do the first and second.

16. Here we see B in the rain holding in one hand a machete, and in the other a strange implement similar to that on page 37a. Of the hieroglyphs the second was the god's sign, the third is *a*, and the fourth may be an Akbal sign with Kin. The first sign somewhat suggests the sign for the Moan; its prefix is curious.

17. Here in place of the picture and the superscription, owing perhaps to lack of space and in order not to omit the last picture, we have a vertical row of seven hieroglyphs interrupted between the sixth and seventh by the red and black numeral belonging here. The top sign is effaced and the second is B's. I will not venture to determine the third, which contains a Yax. Could it belong to the serpent deity H? The fourth is probably Kan-Imix and the fifth is indistinct. And the same is true of the sixth, the prefix of which we have already met with as the sixteenth hieroglyph on page 24, and shall meet with again on pages 53, 56, 58, 61, etc. The seventh sign, which is quite at the bottom, consists of a vessel with a foot-print beneath it; it seems to be in the place of the picture.

18. The entire section ends with a picture of B, who carries the hatchet and probably the copal pouch. The hieroglyphs are wholly obliterated.

#### Pages 40a—41a.

The following Tonalamatl, one of the form of  $10 \times 26$ , has suffered much from the carelessness of the scribe and from injury. I have attempted to restore it as follows:—

X X7 IV 4 VIII 4 XII 2 I 1 II 8 X  
Ahau · Oc

Cimi	Cib	The first row should be read from top to bottom, and then the second in the same order.
Fb	Ik	
Ezanab	Lamat	
Kan	Ix.	



The six subdivisions all refer to some activity of B. Among the  $6 \times 4$  hieroglyphs his sign occurs five times as the fourth and only in the last group as the third. Let us now examine the six groups individually.

1. B is traversing the water in a canoe, as on pages 29c and 40c, with the paddle in his hand. All the hieroglyphs belonging to him are obliterated.

2. B is sitting on the laterally elongated head *q*, which here, as on page 69, is enlarged and drawn with special care. Seler ("Charakter der aztekischen, etc. Handschrift" in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1888, p.83) discusses this sign in connection with the day Men. It seems to me to denote unlucky days, the influence of which may here be checked by B. B holds in his hand a hatchet. The head (*q*) is repeated in the third sign, perhaps also in the second, and the superfix of these two signs is probably the same as that of the sign beneath the picture of B. The first sign is mostly destroyed.

3. As on pages 30a and 31c, and again just as on page 69a, B is sitting on the tree of life or sacrificial tree. A branch of this, which he grasps in one hand, ends in a serpent-head, and the root of the tree also represents B's head. Around the god's head are again the familiar dots, probably signifying stars. Of the hieroglyphs, the first is probably *f*, the second is destroyed, the third may be a variant of *a*, although it recalls the sign which, I believe, has the meaning of 73 days on pages 46-50; the prefix of 1 also suggests this meaning.

4. B's head is again surrounded by stars and he holds in one hand the outline of a hieroglyph. He is sitting on a peculiar ornamented structure resembling the crenelations of a wall. This wall displays the spiral which we found also on pages 33b-35b, and which in the treatise, "Zur Maya-Chronologie" (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* XXIII, p.147), I regarded as an abbreviation for a serpent and hence as a symbol of time. It is further to be noted that B is wet with rain and with this the third hieroglyph is in keeping, if it is actually intended to denote the rainy season and not the week of 13 days ("Zur Entzifferung" V, 6); still the red numeral 13 below is more in keeping with the second meaning. The second sign is an Ahau

with the leaf-shaped prefix, which also appears in the first sign of the third group. The first is effaced.

5. B, represented with a gala mantle hanging down in front and with the copal pouch, is sitting on a head, which looks like his own, especially as to the eyes, but which notwithstanding probably belongs to D and is marked with Ik (wind) and Cauac (cumulus clouds). Of the hieroglyphs the first and second do not admit of positive identification, and the third is Kan-Imix.

6. The god is sitting on a mat in a house. All the hieroglyphs except his own are obliterated.

### Pages 42a — 44a.

Another Tonalamatl of the form of  $10 \times 26$ ; I have restored the effaced day-signs as follows:—

XIII XIII 3 III 2 V 2 VII 6 XIII 2 II 2 IV 2 VI 7 XIII

Oc	Cib	
Ik	Lamat	Thus the month days are the same as
Ix	Ahau	in the preceding Tonalamatl, but should
Cimi	Eb	be read in a different order:— Oc, Cib,
Ezanab	Kan.	Ik, Lamat, etc.

Here each of the 8 subdivisions has 6 hieroglyphs, and the order is as follows:—

1	2
3	4
5	6.

A few of these signs are common to all the groups. Thus the first sign (v), as far as what remains is distinguishable, seems to occur in all the groups. It has the leaf-shaped prefix, but I cannot understand the rest of it; we shall find it again several times on pages 29c–41c.

Again the sign in the sixth place, as far as we can see, is always the head without an underjaw and the tuft of hair tied up on top of it (O, according to Schellhas), which we found above on page 25 and which we shall meet again on pages 65–69 no less than 13 times, with regular intervals of 6 signs between them. Indeed that passage is a remarkable parallel to this one.

That the sign for B, who here too plays the most important part, occurs often, is self-evident. It appears in the fourth

place, in the 1st, 3d, 4th, and 7th groups, and in the third of the 8th group; in the 6th group it is destroyed. In the 2nd and 5th groups B has neither picture nor sign.

The hieroglyphs of the cardinal points I shall mention in connection with the separate groups. They are especially conspicuous in this section, being sometimes represented in full and sometimes in an abbreviated form as mere prefixes.

1. B with arms crossed sits above a serpent denoting time, and holding in its coils the cross *b*, which so often refers to astronomical conditions. Above the head of the serpent is the vessel with the three Kan signs, which we have already found several times on pages 25-28. It is remarkable that the flourish, which usually appears as the nose-ornament of the sun-god G (e. g., pages 11b and c), is added to these Kan signs. As the stars are again indicated on B's head, he plainly denotes a time-god here. The third hieroglyph, the sign of the east, corresponds with this meaning, and the Kan sign, which we see in the fifth hieroglyph probably combined with Ahau, also belongs to the east; the prefix of the fourth hieroglyph is the sign for the west.

2. A deity whom we shall probably have to call F, the god of human sacrifice, is sitting on a stepped pyramidal structure (a *teocalli* as a place of sacrifice?). He holds something in his hands, resembling a long and broad scroll, joined to which is the head of the god of the north, C, and in the third hieroglyph of this group the sign for the north also appears, prefixed to the head of F, who seems to be repeated in the fourth hieroglyph. The fifth hieroglyph with an Imix is unintelligible to me.

3. Page 43. B is sitting in the water, the copal pouch hangs from his neck and the hatchet is raised as if ready to attack. The second hieroglyph clearly denotes water, while the third is the sign for the west and the fourth is the sign for B, its prefix being the sign for the east abbreviated; the order of the cardinal points is thus exactly the reverse of that in the first group. The fifth hieroglyph is not clear to me, but it appears to be repeated in the same place in the next group.

4. B is sitting here astride a sort of bench again holding the hatchet in his hand. Belonging to this picture in the third

hieroglyph is the sign for the south, which is repeated in an abbreviated form in the fourth hieroglyph.

The fifth is Kan, joined to what appears to be the same sign as the one found in this place in the preceding group. The second sign is indistinct.

5. This is an aged deity, probably M according to Schellhas, seated on an indefinite object. In front of the deity is a Cauac sign, which contains exactly the same cumulus clouds as those in the sign 5 Zac, which belongs to N. Cauac, however, belongs to the south, and therefore corresponds with the north of the second group on page 42. Sign 5, a Kan, corresponds exactly with the same sign in the fifth place of the preceding group.

6. Page 44. B seems to be in a state of collapse. Behind him is a second person, who is either trying to support him or to pull him up by some kind of a sling. I think the second person is E, the grain-deity, if it is not Seler's young god. If the hieroglyphs were not completely effaced, they would probably shed some light on this interesting passage.

7. Here we see B, holding a fish in his hand, and sitting on a hieroglyph, which is compounded of Imix and a prefix, which resembles the tortoise head and which appeared once before in this combination on page 32a. This passage recalls page 40a, where B is seated on the laterally elongated head *q*. Nothing more can be said of the hieroglyphs, than that 6 is the head without an underjaw.

8. B is sitting here in a house; his sign in the third place has Yax as a prefix. Hieroglyph 5, with the number 4 prefixed, recalls the one which we found on page 21c belonging to the bald-headed old man. Hieroglyph 4 is the common Kan-Imix.

#### Page 45a.

The last page on the front of the first section of this Manuscript is used for a series, which presents itself as a second improved edition of the series which was found on pages 31a-32a. The very fact that the writing is so much better proclaims it an amendment. The chief aim of both series is the same, viz:—to bring into unison the numbers 91, 104, 200 and 364. But the two series gain this end by different means. On page 32 the

series begins with 91, and at first has only 91 as a difference, until with 728 a multiple of 104 and 364 is obtained, then it returns to the simple difference 91, in 1456 it obtains again the 104 and 364, loses these two last numbers once more in 1820 and finally in 3640 obtains the desired multiple of all four numbers, which is retained in 7280, 14,560, 21,840 and 29,120. The series on page 45a proceeds much more briefly. It begins at once with 728 (91, 104, 364), loses the 104 in 1092, gains the 260 and loses the 104 in 1820, arrives at divisibility by all four numbers in the 3640, loses the 104 again in 5460, but then comes to a standstill after having obtained the same multiples (double at that) of 3640, which I mentioned just now in the preceding series. Indeed it can be seen from what is legible in the third column above, that the series went still further. But so much is obliterated that I have obtained the numbers 14,560 and 21,840 in both series only by conjecture.

In the earlier passage the starting-point of the series is the day XIII Akbal and in the one before us it is the day XIII Oc. In the former the days specified were 91 days apart from each other, and here they are separated by 104, *i. e.*, XIII Ezanab, XIII Ik, XIII Cimi, XIII Oc.

The initial days of the two series, XIII Oc-XIII Akbal, are separated by 13 days, and the reversed series, XIII Akbal-XIII Oc, by 247 days. Hence the subject of both passages is essentially the week of thirteen days, *i. e.*, the year of 364 ( $28 \times 13$ ) days.

Now this series is also accompanied by a number amounting to millions. It is in the second column of page 45; only, in order to understand it, we must add a zero as the bottom figure; then it becomes 1,278,420. XIII Oc stands below this number as the beginning of the series. The first column has 30 as an enclosed number and below it the normal day IV Ahau.

The large number must have been formed as follows:—

The point of departure was 230, the interval between IV Ahau and XIII Oc, to this was added  $98 \times 260 = 25,480$ , the sum being 25,710. The result of this number added to 11 Ahau-Katuns = 1,252,680, was 1,278,390, which number is not re-

vealed in the Manuscript. It is concealed in XIII Oc 3 Mol (2 Muluc). But  $1,278,390 = 42,613 \times 30$ , i.e., it is divisible by the interval XIII Oc-IV Ahau.

Now if we add to this large number the 30 set down in the Manuscript, the result will be the above-mentioned 1,278,420. This number in the Manuscript has the date IV Ahau 13 Chen. (2 Muluc). It is, of course, divisible by 30 and by 260, hence  $= 42,614 \times 30$  and  $4917 \times 260$ . It corresponds not merely in this respect with the largest number on page 31a, viz:—2,804,100, but also with regard to its divisibility by 78, 156, 195, which are all multiples of 13.

On page 45a, top left, there were doubtless five hieroglyphs, of which the two topmost ones are effaced. First we see only the sign of the eleventh or twelfth month, Zac or Ceh, with an uncertain number prefixed, then the signs for beginning and end are distinctly legible. Ceh begins and Zac ends the year of 364 days; see page 4 of my treatise "Zur Entzifferung V."

### Pages 29 b — 30 b.

We come now to the middle section of pages 29-45, in which we shall not be so hampered by obliteration in our attempts at interpretation, as we were in the upper section.

We have here first a Tonalamatl of the usual kind, arranged as follows:—

III      13    III 13    III 13    III 13    III

Ix

Cimi

Ezanab

That is to say, the 52 days divided into four  
Oc                    equal parts.

Ik.

To these four divisions, as on page 23b, belong the four usual forms of animal food, which are joined in three places to Kan (bread) and probably denote sacrifice. They are, first a mammal, which, however, is erroneously represented by a fish; second, a fish, third an iguana and lastly a bird. I would add, that in the hieroglyphs above, the east, north, west and south correspond in turn with these representations of food.

The hieroglyphs are arranged as follows:—

1	2	5	6	9	10	13	14
3	4	7	8	11	12	15	16.

Of these, 2, 6, 10 and 14 are the cardinal points just mentioned; 4, 8, 12 and 16 are the sign for B, and 1, 5, 9 and 13 are the head with the tuft of hair and the Akbal eye to which I attribute the meaning of *beginning*. Likewise the remaining four signs, 3, 7, 11 and 15, although they are not exactly alike, have something in common, the 15th being a distinct Imix; they are not yet wholly intelligible to me.

Four pictures of B belong to these hieroglyphs. In the first the god is seated with crossed arms on two of the ordinary astronomical signs (Jupiter and Mars?). In the second, where he is pointing forward with his hand, there are footprints on his seat, as, for example, on page 35a. In the third the seat contains the usual cumulus clouds in clusters. Finally, in the fourth, he is seated on the tree of life or of sacrifice, the hatchet is in his hand and he is clad in the gala mantle; cf. pages 31c, 40a, 69a.

#### Pages 30 b — 31 b.

This passage is in some respects closely related to the preceding Tonalamatl, but in other respects it differs significantly from this and from what is usual, for the Tonalamatl is divided here into only four principal divisions of 65 days each, which begin very regularly with the days VIII Oc, VIII Men, VIII Ahau and VIII Chicchan. There are neither subdivisions nor the usual pictures belonging to them. But on the other hand each of the longer periods of time written down here have eight hieroglyphs for each section in the usual order.

B's sign occupies the places 6, 4, 4 and 4; from this it follows that here too he forms the principal subject.

Here, as in the preceding Tonalamatl, the first place in each group contains the sign denoting beginning, while the eighth sign is invariably the head without an underjaw, which seems to me to refer to *fasting*, as if a fast-day fell at the end of every 65 days.

In the fifth place we see in succession the four animals, which in the preceding Tonalamatl are not included in the groups of hieroglyphs. Here they stand in the order of mammal, bird, amphibian and fish, but the bird in the second group is replaced by the sign which usually occurs with the dog (lightning-beast).

The signs in the second place are those of the cardinal points, and they are given in the same order as in the preceding Tonalamatl, i.e., east, north, west and south, so that they do not belong to the same animals as they do there.

The third signs are the cardinal points again, but in the abbreviated form discovered first by Schellhas, and in a different order:— west, north, east and south, and always joined to the head of C around which everything revolves as around the polar star. The Kan sign with different accompanying signs occupies the seventh place in the first group, and the sixth in the other three.

Four signs still remain:— the fourth of the first group I am inclined to consider the abbreviated sign for the sun; the seventh of the second, rain with the sign for the west as a prefix; the seventh of the third, Caban, ground, with the sign for the east as a prefix; the seventh of the fourth is Kan with the Yax sign above it, probably denoting the vegetable kingdom.

### **Pages 31 b — 35 b.**

This entire passage is devoted to a single Tonalamatl, which is divided and written out in an unusual manner. Like the preceding it is divided into four parts of 65 days each, but the remarkable thing about it is that these divisions of 65 days are each subdivided into two periods of 46 and 19 days, and the 46 days again into eight unequal parts, which are exactly the same each time, while the 19 days run their course without further subdivision. On pages 33, 34 and 35 this 19 is always on the left at the bottom, on page 32 it is wanting, probably because it was self-evident and there was no suitable place for it.

We shall next discuss the division of these four periods of 46 days each. This division is indicated with especial exactness on these pages, since not merely the length of the separate sub-



divisions and the week days are specified, but also the month days. This representation has the additional peculiarity, that the two columns on each page must be read from bottom to top, and of each group of two days standing side by side, the one on the right is to be read first and then the one on the left. If the Tonalamatl were written in the usual manner, it would have the following form:—

X 9 VI 9 II 9 XI 2 XIII 4 IV 9 XIII 4 IV 19 X  
Ben

Ezanab

Akbal                      Instead of this we read in greater detail as  
Lamat.                  follows (the pages and the stated *length* of time  
are in parentheses):—

- (31) X Ben (9)      VI Ik (9)      II Chuen (9) XI Ahau (2) XIII Ik (4)  
         IV Cimi (9)      XIII Men (4)      IV Cauac (19).  
(32) X Ezanab (9) VI Manik (9) II Cib (9) XI Chicchan (2) XIII Manik (4)  
         IV Chuen (9)      XIII Ahau (4)      IV Kan (19).  
(33) X Akbal (9)    VI Eb (9)      II Imix (9) XI Oc (2)      XIII Eb (4)  
         IV Cib (9)      XIII Chicchan (4)    IV Muluc (19).  
(34) X Lamat (9) VI Caban (9) II Cimi (9) XI Men (2)      XIII Caban (4)  
         IV Imix (9)      XIII Oc (4)      IV Ix (19).

In spite of the seemingly wholly irregular division of time, the following relation, which is certainly not accidental, results from this arrangement:— the first of the eight members of each row is one of the days which may begin the year and the months, and the eighth, on the other hand, one of the four regents of the year. The remaining six members are the remaining 12 of the 20 days repeated twice and the second always corresponds with the fifth of its own series, and the third to the sixth and the fourth to the seventh of the following series.

Two pictures of god B belong to each of these periods of 65 days, the first of these pictures referring to the divided period of 46 days and the second to the undivided one of 19. It is also in agreement with this that on pages 61 and 62 the fourth, sixth and eighth pictures represent the god as rising from the jaws of a serpent—the serpent being represented each time as lying in water which invariably contains the number 19.

As the hieroglyphs belonging to the periods of 46 days are allied to one another, and as this is also true of those belonging to the periods of 19 days, I will first consider the hieroglyphs of the first period by themselves, then those of the second, and the pictures shall be treated in the same manner.

Therefore, let us first examine the four pictures (1, 3, 5 and 7) on the right side of the pages:—

1. The first page shows the god walking with the official staff in his right hand, in his left the hatchet raised for a blow and with the copal pouch hanging from his neck.

2. He is walking and holding a flaming torch reversed in his right hand, in his left the hatchet is raised aloft, the pouch hangs from his neck, the mantle is indicated and around his head are the little circles which are so frequently his adjuncts and probably signify stars.

3. He is walking and holding the reversed torch in his left hand and the hatchet in his right.

4. He is walking and holding a torch in each hand. He wears on his head the head of K. He seems to be bringing storm and fire.

...Now let us examine the hieroglyphs, which I have numbered thus:—

1	3	5
2	4	6.

The first hieroglyph on each page certainly represents one of the cardinal points. They are in the usual order:— east, north, south and west.

2 is the same sign on each page. I take it to be the sign for Xul=end, denoting, it may be, the end of the period of each cardinal point.

In each group 3 is the head with tuft of hair and the Akbal eye; probably the sign denoting *beginning*. This beginning and end occur most distinctly repeated on page 63, and the end alone eight times at the bottom of pages 61–62.

On page 31, 4 is B's sign, on page 32 B's with the prefix of the north, on page 33 it is B's sign again and although quite

indistinct its is plainly joined with the east. On page 34 there is another indistinct sign which may be that of the serpent deity H.

Owing to indistinctness I do not venture to determine the fifth sign on pages 31 and 33; on page 32 it is the laterally elongated head *q* with the Ben-Ik superfix, and on page 34 the ordinary Kan-Imix.

The sixth sign varies as much as the fifth; it seems here to denote four different gods, perhaps the four given on pages 25-28. On page 31 it is a Cauac, the prefix of which here, however, suggests K, on 32 it is certainly the hieroglyph of E and on 33 possibly of A, on 34 it most resembles Muluc of the day-signs, but also suggests the line crossing F's face from top to bottom.

We come now to the four pictures 2, 4, 6 and 8 and to the hieroglyphs belonging to them, which are on the left side of the pages and belong to the periods of 19 days.

1. B is pictured walking, raising the hatchet in his right hand, and holding an uncertain object in his left; the serpent with the 19 set down in its coils does not appear here. The 2nd, 3d and 4th pictures belong together. In each picture on these three pages there is a serpent with water in its coils and the number 19 in the water, denoting the number of days belonging here. As on pages 61 and 62 B is emerging from the open jaws of the serpent. In each case he is brandishing the uplifted axe in his left hand. The difference in the three pictures consists, first, in the fact that only in the 2nd and 3d B wears the copal pouch, second, that only in the 3d and 4th he has an implement in his right hand (the two implements differ somewhat but are both, apparently, adapted for hanging up) and third, that only in 3 the whole picture is painted blue, which means that the entire scene is enacted under water.

The hieroglyphs are as follows:—

The first in all four cases is a Manik, i.e., originally a grasping hand, perhaps referring to the chase; on page 32 it has a prefix and on pages 33-35 a superfix corresponding to the first.

The second sign on each page is simply B's.

The Cauac sign in the third refers in all four cases to the

water represented at the bottom of pages 33b-35b. On page 32 it has an Akbal as a superfix, on 33-35 a prefix, which is familiar and in keeping with the sign and probably also the same suffix, though it is indistinct on page 34.

The fourth sign shows, as do several other things, that the representation on page 32 differs from that on pages 33-35. On the first of these pages we see an Imix with a puzzling 1 prefixed. If the numbering of the days really begins with Kan, as is probable in this Manuscript, then Imix is the 18th day and  $1 + 18$  might denote the 19, which is not set down here. On pages 33-35 this sign contains the spiral, which refers to the serpent in the picture below (and probably therefore to time). A curious element, however, is the numeral 9 prefixed three times to the spiral. This number is rarely a prefix, but it occurs, for example, on pages 33a and 35a before the cross *b* and on page 60 right, middle, prefixed to Xul (= end). The interval 9 occurs in this Tonalamatl 16 times, including therefore 117 of the 260 days.

The fifth sign each time contains the head without the under jaw, just as it recurs regularly in the preceding passage, pages 30-31.

The sixth sign in each group is the not uncommon compound of Caban and the sign, which resembles Muluc and which we saw before in the sixth place among the hieroglyphs on the right side of page 34.

#### Pages 35 b—37 b.

I 11 XII 6 V 9 I 4 V 7 XII 9 VIII 6 I

Caban That is, a regular Tonalamatl of five parts,  $5 \times 52$ .

Muluc That the 52 days are divided into two halves

Imix (  $11 + 6 + 9 = 4 + 7 + 9 + 6$  ), may only be

Ben accidental.

Chiechan.

I will designate the hieroglyphs of the seven divisions thus:—

1	2		5	6	9	10	13	14		17	18	21	22	25	26
3	4		7	8	11	12	15	16		19	20	23	24	27	28.

I will first consider those signs, which are repeated and by means of which the sections seem to be brought into connection

with one another. But I shall attend in detail to those hieroglyphs which contain characteristic references to each picture, when I discuss the latter.

The first place both among the pictures and among the hieroglyphs again belongs unquestionably to B. He is plainly designated in the 10th, 17th, 21st and 26th hieroglyphs, but, for an unknown reason, C's sign is joined to B's in the 16th, probably also in the 6th and perhaps in the 9th, and in 20 and 28 C's sign forms an integral part of a hieroglyph. Now in discussing the great *Tonalamatl*, pages 4a-10a, I attempted to make it appear probable that C belongs to the eighth day (Chuen) and in that case the Chuen sign in the thirteenth hieroglyph may be probably set down here. Further, in discussing pages 25 to 28, I expressed the conjecture that this Chuen sign might simply mean eight days, if we begin with Kan as the first day, for which proceeding there is some warrant in the "*Dresdensis*." Now, in hieroglyphs 8 and 24 we find an 8 inscribed; in hieroglyph 8 it is joined to an Imix, exactly as on page 39c; on page 65a it is joined to Kin, and on 67a and 68a to a hand. Is it possible that here also the 8 is intended as a sign for Chuen = C?

Then the familiar Kin-Akbal sign (day and night) is in the fourth place as well as in the eleventh and nineteenth.

The other signs which appear but once, I will discuss in connection with each of the seven pictures:—

1. A serpent in the water, with B emerging from its head, exactly as on pages 36a, Tro. 26 and Cort. 10.

The third sign, that of the serpent-deity H, refers to the serpent. The first sign is the one which I think may be Caban-Muluc, while the second, owing to its indistinctness, eludes interpretation.

2. This also represents a deity sitting in the water, whom we are probably safe in calling H, for the top of his head changes into a serpent, ending, however, in a bird's bill holding a fish. The deity holds up both hands. The union of serpent and bird should be noted in connection with the fourth picture. The deity is represented in the fifth sign; the sixth, seventh and eighth signs have already been discussed.

3. B is traversing the water in a boat, exactly as on pages 29c, 40a and c, and 43c. Here, however, there is a person beside him (probably a woman) whom, from the ninth hieroglyph we recognize as the deity E, unless this sign is C's. In 12 we see with Kin a sign which may suggest the usual hieroglyph denoting a year.

4. A serpent is pictured here, with a bird sitting upon it. We met with the same bird on page 17b. Schellhas, "*Mayahandschr.*," p. 51, has already expressed the opinion that this is probably a rebus for the name Quetzalcoatl or Kukulcan, and this theory is certainly worthy of consideration. In this connection I would call to mind that it is probably also Kukulcan with serpent and bird who occupies the first place on page 4a. The bird appears again in the fourteenth sign, while the thirteenth is a Chuen, which, according to the statement made above, may be connected with the C in the sixteenth. The fifteenth sign is the cross *b*, which probably denotes the connection between the thirteenth and sixteenth or else between the bird and serpent. Or is Chuen intended here to represent the serpent and not the ape?

5. This picture represents B carrying a burning torch, with the copal pouch hanging from his neck. His left hand touches a strange object, a kind of frame, the top of which ends in the head of a bird of prey.

The eighteenth sign is obliterated and the twentieth is a curious combination of Caban, C and the front part of K.

6. B is walking, with the hatchet in his left hand and in his right an object which looks like the representation of sounds issuing from musical instruments, as on page 34a. Perhaps B is represented here as the air-god.

The twenty-second sign is the familiar Kan-Imix. The twenty-third sign (*w*) is not intelligible to me; it occurs on pages 19c, 40b, 58, on the right, with a superfix suggesting K.

7. Water, in which a small human being seems to be emerging from a snail (the symbol of birth). Above the water is B, grasping a serpent which is in the water, as if to protect the newborn being from the serpent. The twenty-fifth (with Kin) is the so-called bat-god, who on page 50 at the left ends the series

of twenty gods. The twenty-seventh sign (with Yax) is still undetermined.

**Pages 38 b — 41 b.**

VI 16 IX 8 IV 11 II 10 XII 1 XIII 12 XII 6 V 12  
IV 11 II 11 XIII 6 VI

Cauac      The sum of the black numbers is 104, the whole  
Akbal      is, therefore, a double Tonalamatl =  $5 \times 104 = 520$ .  
Manik      While the series on pages 31a-32a primarily brought  
Chuen      the 91 and the 104 together, and the series on page  
Men.      45a accomplished the same result with the 104 and  
the 364, here, though the process is a different one, the 104 is  
combined with the 260 in another number.

It is characteristic of this part of the Manuscript, that the astronomical rectangles, which are very rare in the preceding pages, appear here in no less than five of the eleven divisions and six of them represent showers of rain. One is very readily, therefore, led to infer that the 104 days have reference to the rainy season and to its dependence upon the position of the planets. I will now analyse the eleven sections separately.

1. Rain is streaming down from two astronomical signs (Mars and Jupiter? Day and night?) and in the rain stands a black human form, grasping an implement with the right hand held downward and pointing upward with the left. It has the vulture head which occurred on pages 8a and 13c.

Hieroglyphs 1 and 2 represent the sun and moon, both surrounded by half white and half black envelopes, which must denote clouds. The third sign is Imix, which just here might refer to the rainy season productive of nourishment. The fourth sign is the vulture head of the picture.

2. B is walking in the rain and holds in one hand a stick pointed at the lower end. This is doubtless a farming implement, likewise occurring frequently in the Tro-Cort., which was used for making furrows or holes in the ground.

The second hieroglyph is B's, the first is Caban = earth, the fourth might be a compound of Caban and Muluc, referring to the rain, and the third is the familiar Kan-Imix, which, as the designation of food and drink, would be especially appropriate here.

3. B is apparently resting from tilling the soil, since he is sitting on a support consisting of the signs just spoken of, *i.e.*, Caban and Muluc (?).

The latter signs are repeated in the second hieroglyph, while the third is B's with the sun-glyph (?) prefixed; the first is the head apparently open on top with the Akbal eye, probably the sign for beginning, and the fourth is the familiar sign *a*, which I think signifies a good, auspicious day.

4. Page 39. This represents a violent shower of rain, which might be pronounced a cloud-burst. The old red goddess with tiger-claws and a serpent on her head is pouring water in a stream from a jug. The same goddess occurs on page 43b and on the last page, 74.

Her hieroglyph is the second; it is more distinct in the two other passages. The first part of the third hieroglyph is indistinct, and the second part is the hieroglyph denoting the year. The first hieroglyph is a head with the Akbal sign, and the fourth is the usual compound of Kin and Akbal.

5. The cloud-burst seems to have destroyed the cultivation of the field, for B walks forth again with the implement for tilling the soil, as in the second picture. The second hieroglyph is B's with the prefix of the west, therefore probably denoting sunshine, the first again contains Caban and Muluc and the fourth is Kan-Imix referring again to the produce of the field. I shall not venture to explain the third sign here any more than I did in the previous passages. Compare page 8b.

6. B is again sitting in the rain and under the same astronomical signs as before on page 38. He is pointing downward (to the sprouting seed?). He has the sun-glyph on his back. The first two hieroglyphs are unfamiliar to me (Yax); the third is Imix with the sign for the west, and the fourth is again Muluc.

7. Page 40. B is plunging down headfirst from the same astronomical signs and is brandishing the hatchet.

Hieroglyph 1 is the cross *b*, 2 is B's sign, 3 probably that of the grain-god E, and 4 being Kan-Imix refers to grain. Favorable weather seems to have set in.

8. The astronomical signs are not the same as those in the three preceding instances (Mercury and sun?). Below them



is a deity with tortoise-head—in my opinion, the sign for the longest day—holding a torch in each hand and thus referring to the heat.

Hieroglyph 1 (*w*) with the superfix suggesting K still puzzles me. 2 is the cross *b*, 3 is the tortoise-head with the number 4, which probably refers to the Kan, Muluc, Ix and Cauac years, as the 4 sometimes appears prefixed to N's hieroglyph. In exactly the same way the tortoise-head with the tortoise itself occurs frequently in the Cortesianus. 4 is the sign of the year with prefixed Kin and Cauac, i.e., day-Cauac-year.

9. A thunder-storm, which is very appropriate after the longest day. The lightning-beast, likewise holding a burning torch, is plunging down from the astronomical signs, which are different ones again (Venus and the moon?).

The second hieroglyph contains the sign of the dog together with the cross *b*, while the third is that of the north-god C, and the fourth is Muluc. I cannot explain the first sign; its prefix, which rarely occurs, appears also on pages 23b, 25a, 37b, 63a, and possibly on pages 53b, 62-63a, 69b.

10. Page 41. Another representation of rain. There is an old deity in the rain, who is N rather than F, denoting the end of the old year. He is emerging from a snail (cf. with this page 37b), and is pointing upward; a part of the first hieroglyph is on his head.

This first hieroglyph recalls the sign which, in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XXIII, p. 145, I ventured to connect with the change of the year; but it also suggests the snail pictured below, hence the birth of the new year. The beginning of the year for the Mayas, although of course not for all parts of the country, is fixed, as a rule, to fall on the 16th of July. This would agree admirably with the eighth and ninth sections, which represent the time of the longest day and of thunder-storms.

The second hieroglyph is B's, the fourth the cross *b*, probably referring here to a union of two years, and the third with its Cauac to the duration of the rainy season or to the god N.

11. The rain seems to fall with less violence. B is seated, clad in the gale mantle with a Kan on his head, as the sign of grain. His headdress also strongly recalls that of the *crani-*

deity E (which is also the case of the headdress on the preceding picture.)

Hieroglyph 1, the upper part of which is very like that of the first sign of the preceding group, looks like a plaited mat. Does it not suggest that the name of the first month of the new year is Pop and that this word is denoted by carpet, mat? Hieroglyph 2 is B's, 3 is the sun between a dark and a bright sky, and 4 is the common Kin-Akbal, day and night.

If the seventh picture really refers to the beginning of the year, then the entire period of 104 days extends from April 15th to August 2nd, which, with the addition of the five days not counted at the end of the year, does indeed make 109 days. All this, however, is only true on the supposition that I have not seen more in these representations than they contain.

#### Pages 41 b — 43 b.

VI 12 V 7 XII 6 V 21 XIII 6 VI.

Caban Another regular Tonalamatl, and like the preceding one apparently referring to the change of the year, the tilling of the soil and the rainy season. Ben B's sign is regularly repeated in the second place Chicchan. of all five groups of hieroglyphs, and moreover each of these groups has six signs. The head with the missing under jaw is in the fourth place of groups 2 and 3, in the sixth of group 5 and might perhaps be intended also in the fourth of 1 and 4. The usual Kan-Imix is in the third sign of group 2, in the fifth of 4, and the fourth of 5; possibly also in the fifth of 1; the third hieroglyph in group 3, at any rate, contains Imix.

Let us now consider the five groups individually:—

1. The rainy season seems to have been delayed; the beginning of the year draws near. B is kneeling on a kind of footstool, the hatchet is in his right hand and his left hand holds a kind of chisel with which he is carving something out of the trunk of a tree. The purpose of the work is indicated by the god's own head directly below (probably placed in front of the tree as a model?). No doubt this is intended to represent the making of the statue of the god of the new year destined for the beginning of the year, as we know it from pages 25-28. [1]

Corresponding with this is the first hieroglyph denoting the year with Yax as a superfix, and also the sixth being the sign to which in the article in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* cited above, I attributed the meaning of change of the year. I cannot decide whether the third sign is intended for an Imix-Chuen with the sign of the south as a superfix, the fifth for a Kan-Imix and the fourth for the head without the under jaw.

2. Page 42. Prayer for rain. B (that is to say, his priest) is seated apparently on the same footstool. He is gazing upward and presenting a vessel containing an offering, the nature of which is uncertain. The vessel ends in a tube; cf. page 67b.

The first, fifth and sixth hieroglyphs are not finished, and the third is Kan-Imix.

3. The rain-goddess promises aid. B is seated opposite the old red goddess, who is holding intercourse with him. The god is seated on the Caban sign (earth) and the goddess on Muluc (rain?).

The first, fifth and sixth hieroglyphs are also unfinished; the third is Imix with its meaning intensified by the prefixed Yax (the luxuriantly growing grain?).

4. B is again tilling the ground in the manner already familiar to us. Under him lies his own head with the Imix-Kan sign, denoting food and drink, as a superfix. The first hieroglyph is the sign of the eighteenth month Cumhu, i.e., of the end of the year. The third is a Kin-Akbal, the fifth a Kan-Imix, the sixth is not finished, and the fourth may be intended for the head without the lower jaw, but it is carelessly drawn.

5. Page 43. The solicited rain begins. The goddess with the serpent on her head is pouring streams of water from her vessel.

The first hieroglyph repeats the month Cumhu, denoting the beginning of rain, before the close of the year; the third is the sign of the goddess met with on page 39b, here also with the sign for the west as a prefix; the fifth is her determinative, the serpent, and the fourth is Kan-Imix.

If the first sign in the first group is not regarded as the sign of the year, but as that of the sixteenth month (Pax) resembling

it, and the fact is taken into consideration that there is an interval of 34 days between the second and fourth groups and of 40 days between the second and fifth, this would be found to correspond with the interval between the months Pax and Cumhu.

### Pages 43 b — 44 b.

This is the fourth and last series of the first part of the Manuscript; the first is on page 24, the second on pages 31a to 32a, and the third on page 45a. The first series is quite by itself, but the second and third are similar in form to this fourth, though their initial days are different from those of the latter:—XIII Akbal, XIII Oe and III Lamat. All three begin with differences which are divisible by 13:—91, 104 and 78, equal to 7, 8, and  $6 \times 13$ . All three aim and arrive at numbers which are common factors of 260, 104 and 364, and therefore also of 3640, which last number is written out in the other two series, while in this series it can only appear later on and then, increased by multiplication.

Since this series has the difference 78, the week day numbers remain the same, while those of the month days must advance by 18 each, that is, from the hidden starting-point III Lamat they go on to III Cimi, III Kan, III Ik, III Ahau, etc., until the tenth member of the series is  $10 \times 78$ , i.e.,  $3 \times 260$  and thus comes again to the day III Lamat.

From 780 onward this number is itself always the difference of the higher terms of the present series. At the same time 780 days are the duration of the apparent revolution of Mars, which is here supplementary, as it were, since page 24 treated of the revolutions of the sun and of Venus, and also of those of the moon and of Mercury. Hence in the present passage we find the numbers 1560, 2340, 3120 and 3900, always accompanied by the day III Lamat. The larger numbers require a few corrections; I read them 13,260 ( $17 \times 780$ ), 15,600 ( $20 \times 780$ ), 31,200 ( $40 \times 780$ ), 62,400 ( $80 \times 780$ ) and 72,540 ( $93 \times 780$ ). The very largest again are correctly set down; first 109,200 equal to  $140 \times 780$ , but here also equal to  $1050 \times 104$  and  $300 \times 364$ , so that in this series the goal aimed at is not reached until later than it is in

the two preceding series. Then follows  $131,040 = 168 \times 780$ ,  $1260 \times 104$ ,  $360 \times 364$ , but finally  $151,320$ , which number  $= 1455 \times 104$  and  $194 \times 780$ , but is not divisible by 364.

Detached in the usual way from this series on the left of page 43 is the number 1,435,980. Above and below it is the day III *Lamat*, further down IV *Ahau*, and between them is 352 in a red circle. This number seems to have been obtained in the following way:— The writer began with the distance between III *Lamat* and IV *Ahau*, which is 92, added to it  $172 \times 260 = 44,720$ , and subtracted the result 44,812 from 13 *Ahau-Katuns*  $= 1,480,440$ . The remainder was 1,435,628, which number would correspond to the date III *Lamat* 6 *Zotz* (4 *Kan*), which, however, is suppressed in the Manuscript. The  $352 = 260 + 92$  was added to this sum, and the result was the 1,435,980 written out in the Manuscript, *i.e.*, a day IV *Ahau* 13 *Zip* (5 *Muluc*). Now this number is the one sought; it is  $5523 \times 260 = 1841 \times 780 = 3945 \times 364$ , and hence must also be equal to  $263 \times 5460$ , since the 780 and 364 are united in 5460. According to our present knowledge, it would seem to lie in the future, but not far from the present; the solar and Mars revolutions are united in it. There is but a single hieroglyph here, the hieroglyph of the animal which is the chief subject of the next section; from which it appears that the two sections are closely connected.

### Pages 44 b — 45 b.

This section supplements the pictures and hieroglyphs belonging to the series just examined. Therefore it likewise extends over 78 days and divides them as follows:—

III 19 IX 19 II 19 VIII 21 III.

These five days are plainly intended to be the days III *Lamat*, IX *Manik*, II *Cimi*, VIII *Chicchan*, III *Cimi*.

With regard to the real purport of this section, it is my opinion that it has reference to the time of the shortest day and also to the four winds and that this section therefore forms, in a measure, a contrast to pages 38–41, where attention was called to the rainy season, the longest day and the thunderstorms.

We see here in the first place four of the ordinary heavenly

shields, with two astronomical signs each. I cannot decide, at present, whether these are 1st, the moon and Saturn, 2nd, Mars and Mercury, 3d, the moon and Mars, and 4th, Jupiter and Venus.

From each of these shields hangs a figure not unlike an heraldic beast. It cannot be the canine lightning-beast; it has no flames, it is cloven-footed and with the upper lip bent upward and the lower lip curved downward suggesting the storm-god K, and therefore probably represents the four winds; this wind-beast repeated four times also occurs on Cort. 2.

Six hieroglyphs belong to each picture. Those in the first place are pierced ears and refer therefore to the ritual blood-letting, which may have been performed at this season. In Tro. 5\*b we also find the pierced ear; a pierced *tongue* (Tro. 17\*b), however, does not occur in the Dresdensis. The second place always contains the sign of the beast like the one instance on page 43.

The third place seems to be devoted to the four cardinal points, i.e., to the four winds. First we see Akbal-Kin, i.e., the transition from night to day, the east. The north-god, C, is here in the second group; in the third we see Kin and beside it in the fourth place Akbal, both enveloped by clouds denoting the transition from day to night, the west. The fourth group, it is true, has the year-sign here, but with the compound Kin-Cauac prefixed, and Cauac always belongs to the south. I believe I have found a distinct reference to the season of the year in two other places. The fourth hieroglyph of the second group and the sixth of the fourth both have the familiar prefix suggesting K, the storm-god. The first of the two contains the month Mol (December 3d-22nd); the second might very well be the month Yax (January 12th-31st). This is quite in keeping with the distances  $19 + 21 = 40$  set down below.

In my "Tagegöttern der Mayas" (Globus LXXIII, 10) and above in my discussion of the great Tonalamatl under pages 4a-10a, I have assigned the day Chuen to C, and Muluc to K, i.e., the first to the dark north and the latter to the wind, which are both under consideration here. In fact, we find the Chuen sign in the fifth place of the fourth group with the same prefix

that C has in the second group. The Muluc sign, however, seems to occur three times:—1st, group 1, sign 6, where it may be joined to the month Mol belonging here; 2nd, group 3, sign 5, joined to the Akbal, which also belongs here; 3d, group 4, sign 4, with a usual prefix. In the second group it may be included in the very similar month sign of Mol. Four hieroglyphs remain:—1st, Akbal in group 1, sign 5, hence probably denoting the darker time of the year in general; 2nd, A in 2, sign 5; 3d, E in 2, sign 6; i. e., probably referring to the death of the grain (I do not know to what extent this expression may be used in relation to the Maya country); 4th, Kan-Imix in 3, sign 6, perhaps expressing the hope of new harvests.

This finishes the middle sections of the pages of the first part of the Manuscript, and we must now turn back again to page 29 in order to examine the lower sections.

### Pages 29 c—30 c.

III 16 VI 16 IX 16 XII 17 III

Ix

Cauac Here is a Tonalamatl of four quarters, 4 × 65.

Kan

Muluc.

In the Manuscript 16 is again erroneously set down for 17 and the III following it is omitted. The initial day is exactly the same III Ix, as in section 29b above it, to which in other respects the passage now under consideration shows a great likeness, since the four familiar animals occur here as well as there. But in spite of beginning in the same way the days here are different ones, being the four regents of the year, as on page 9b.

The four parts are grouped together by the sign, which always occupies the first place in each part; I have denoted this sign by /, and I think it must have a very general significance, since from pages 29c to 40c it always begins the groups. The connection between the four parts is further shown by the four cardinal points in the second place:—the north in the first group, the west in the second, the south in the third and the east in the fourth. In the third place these cardinal points are again indicated by their usual abbreviations; the east is erroneously

set down in the second group. These abbreviations are here invariably joined to the head of C as the representative of the north, the first of the cardinal points occurring in this passage; the others revolve about the north pole.

As B's sign always occurs in the fourth place, there is nothing further to be said concerning the hieroglyphs. We now come to the pictures:—

1. B is rowing a boat, as we have already seen him several times (36b, 40a, c, and 43c). To the left of his head there is a bird's head and in the left, bottom, corner, a pot in which apparently a soup of fowl is cooking, emitting bubbles. The Cib sign on the pot refers to the cooking or bubbling.

2. B, with his head surrounded by the familiar stars, is seated in water, in which are represented the iguana over a Kan sign, and the familiar spiral probably denoting a serpent. He is painted black (perhaps corresponding to the west?) and holds in his hand an implement not yet determined. Perhaps it may be intended for a tree, *past* which the water is flowing.

3. The god is seated, holding in one hand the spiral with a Kin sign over it and a Yax on top of that, and in the other hand something which looks like a bird's feather or a fish's fin. Above him is a fish with a Kan sign, as on page 27, where the fish and Kan are also combined.

4. Holding a hunting-spear, he is sitting on an animal slain in the chase, as on page 45c.

Finally, I have remarked that pages 42c-45c, the last part of the first division of the Manuscript, look like an enlargement or amendment of the section just considered.

### Pages 30 c — 33 c.

To begin with, the day signs are set down in the following order:—

XI	XI	XI	XI
Ahau	Chiechan	Oc	Men
Caban	Ik	Manik	Eb
Ix	Cauac	Kan	Muluc
Chuen	Cib	Imix	Cimi
Lamat	Ben	Ezanab	Akbal.



Here then, as is frequently the case in this Manuscript, all the twenty days are specified. But in order to obtain equal periods of time, the left column should first be read from top to bottom and the following ones should be treated in the same way. Then each succeeding day is 17 days distant from the preceding, but in reality the interval is 117 days, since the same week-day is always implied. The hieroglyphs seem to indicate that these 117 days are divided into three distinct parts, 52, 39 and 26.

117 days, however, are equal to  $9 \times 13$  and hence in what follows we find a black 13 set down 9 times as the interval between the days, and a red XI being the number of the week-day an equal number of times. Now, since the whole series extends over 20 such sections of 117 days, the duration of this calendar is 2340 days or 9 Tonalamatl.

Consequently we find nine pictures of the same god B. In five of them (in Groups 1-4 and 9) he is sitting before or on a sacrificial tree or tree of life; cf. 30b. It is probably not accidental that in these five cases the hieroglyphs refer to the cardinal points. In the eighth group the god is surrounded by the suggestion of one or more trees; he is sitting in water as if in a forest; or in a cave bordered by trees? In the remaining groups, 5, 6 and 7 he is seated on various supports, in 5 on an object, which is not completed and which cannot, therefore, be explained, in 6 on astronomical figures (Mars and Venus?) and in 7 on agave leaves. In 1 and 3 his head is again surrounded by those dots suggesting stars, in 4 there seems to be a bird (quetzal?) seated upon it and in 2 it bears what may be the Kin sign. In 1 and 5 he has the pouch for incense in his hand, while in 3 alone he wears the gala mantle and is painted black, just as he appears in connection with the same hieroglyphs on page 29c. He carries a hatchet in repose in 2, 6 and 9, and raised for a blow in 1 and 7. In 7 he also holds the Imix sign.

The hieroglyphs form nine groups of four signs each. The first hieroglyph, as is always the case in this part of the Manuscript, is the sign which I have denoted by *f*, and the second is always B's hieroglyph. The cardinal points are everywhere specified by two signs each; in places 3 and 4 of group 1, the

west comes first and beside it is the sign for the east, erroneously used for that of the west (a like error occurred in the preceding Tonalamatl); in group 2 there are two signs for the north; in group 3 that for the east with the sign for the west beside it erroneously given for the east, and in group 4 two signs for the south. In groups 5, 6 and 7 we find in the 4th place the head of C, and the same sign in group 7 in the 3d place, where it is joined to another head, which may be that of a woman. The 3d sign of group 5 is incomplete and cannot be determined. The 3d sign of group 6 displays a repetition of the astronomical signs represented below. There still remain the 3d and 4th signs of groups 8 and 9. Of these the 3d in group 8 is *w*, which is as yet unexplained. The 4th might be interpreted either as *Oc* (day 7) or as *Xul* (end). Its prefix is a *Yax* sign. Finally, in group 9 the 3d sign is *Manik* (day 4), the 4th the elongated head *q* with the *Ben-Ik* superfix, which *Seler* assigns to *Men* (day 12).

### Pages 33c—39c.

The beginning of this Tonalamatl is indicated by a large red dot on page 33. It resembles the Tonalamatl almost exactly above it on pages 31b–35b, inasmuch as its arrangement is an unusual one. I will here, as I did above, give it the form in which it would present itself if it were set down in the usual order:—

XIII 9 IX 11 VII 20 I 10 XI 15 XIII

Ahau

Chicchan

Oc

Men.

In this passage as in the earlier one, instead of employing the above concise order, a preference has been shown throughout for carrying out the whole series in such a manner that the week days are set down each time and not merely in the left column. It, therefore, has the following form in the Manuscript:—

XIII Ahau (9)	IX Muhue (11)	VII Ahau (20)	I Ahau (10)	XI Oc (15)
XIII Chicchan (9)	IX Ix (11)	VII Chicchan (20)	I Chicchan (10)	XI Men (15)
XIII Oc (9)	IX Cause (11)	VII Oc (20)	I Oc (10)	XI Ahau (15)
XIII Men (9)	IX Kan (11)	VII Men (20)	I Men (10)	XI Chicchan (15)

I have arranged the whole series in four parallel periods of 65 days each, for the 65 appears throughout the computation, although the entire Tonalamatl is written out in *one* continuous line. On the right of page 35 the scribe seems to have wished to erase an entirely incongruous 4, and in writing the last 15, on page 39, he began to use the red paint prematurely, so that the top one of the three lines is red.

Attention should also be called to the fact that the second of my vertical columns contains the year-regents, the others only the days following immediately after them, while 12 month days do not occur at all. Also the intervening periods  $9 + 11 (=20)$ , 20, 10, 15 doubtless reveal some design.

In order to avoid repetition, I think it proper to mention first, that in the twenty groups of four hieroglyphs each, the sign *f* always stands in the first place, but the hieroglyph of B, who is represented 20 times, usually appears in the second place, in the first and second groups in the third place, and in the 18th and 19th his sign does not appear at all. I will discuss the remaining hieroglyphs in their place in each of the 20 groups.

1. B is sitting in a house and holding the Kan sign in his hand.

The second hieroglyph is apparently meant for the Ahau sign (referring to the 17th day), which usually does not belong to B. This hieroglyph, which certainly bears a resemblance to Ahau and with which we have become very familiar in the inscriptions, occurs again in this Manuscript on pages 46b, c, 50b, 54b, 65a and 66a. The fourth sign is a combination of Cauac and Manik.

2. B is seated on what may be a tree, below him is the cross *b*, and he holds the hatchet in his left hand.

The second sign with an emphasized 6 as a prefix (cf. the same sign with the 6 on page 48, bottom, left, below the gods), has the usual Ben-Ik superfix, perhaps to denote that a lunar month has now elapsed, for this passage extends from the 20th to the 40th day of the Tonalamatl. The rest of the hieroglyph is unintelligible. In the 4th place we see a vessel with Imix, probably denoting pulque.

3. B is sitting in water, the hatchet raised in his right hand and his face turned upward.

The 3d hieroglyph is again Imix and the 4th a compound of Ik and Muluc:—wind and clouds.

4. B is seated on a reproduction of his own head or D's, beating a drum with his hand.

The 3d hieroglyph denotes the serpent-god H with the number 3 as a prefix. The 4th hieroglyph is a Chuen with the sign for the south prefixed,—at any rate the upper part of that sign.

5. B is standing in the pouring rain and looking backward.

The 3d sign here is a Caban apparently in a vessel. Following this in 4 is the hieroglyph which I have proposed to interpret as the sign for *beginning* (Globus, Vol. LXVI, page 79). This sign occurs again in groups 7, 12, 15, 17 and 19, and must therefore be connected with the principal idea embodied in this Tonalamatl.

6. B with folded arms is sitting in a house.

Aside from the usual leaflike prefix, the third sign is composed of two parts. The upper part looks like a plaited mat and suggests that the word for the first month of the year (Pop) is expressed by mat. The lower part is the sign, which occurs frequently especially on pages 25–28, and which very much resembles the familiar sign for a year of 360 days. We shall meet it again in the continuation of this Tonalamatl on pages 36 and 38. The three passages refer to the 74th, 139th, and 204th days of the Tonalamatl, and hence are 65 days apart.

The 4th sign is the cross *b*, with possibly the sign of the east as a prefix.

7. B is seated on the cross *b*, which is here undoubtedly meant for an astronomical sign. He holds a Kan sign in his hand and there is an Ahau sign on his back.

The naked crouching personage, pointing upward, should have especial mention here. The same figure recurs above as a prefix to the 4th hieroglyph. We have already seen it in the 39th hieroglyph on page 24, and shall meet it with especial frequency in the second part of the Manuscript. It is placed sometimes, as in this case, *before* a sign, sometimes *after* a sign and again two of these figures are placed back to back as on page 22c, and one of them is even placed upside down before another sign, where it seemed to me to be a sign for Mercury ("Zur Entzifferung

VII," p.11). This figure is represented independently only on the right of page 58. In the passage under present consideration this personage appears again on page 38. The two figures are connected one with the 85th and the other with the 215th day, and are, therefore, divided by exactly half a Tonalamatl or 130 days. Here we find it as a prefix of the supposed sign for *beginning* of which mention was made in discussing the 5th group. The 3d sign is the same astronomical one, which we saw below under B. It might refer to the Moan and to the change of the year, and thus indicate that a Mercury revolution was coincident here with the beginning of the solar year.

8. B is walking in the rain, both arms are stretched upward, and the pouch hangs from his neck. At the left top there is a black spot suggesting those which usually occur beside the sun and moon.

The 3rd sign is Manik, with a prefix. The 4th is an indistinct head, which may be C's, with an Imix sign as a prefix.

9. B is walking with the pouch hanging from his neck, and the hatchet in his hand.

The 3d sign, which is unusual, is very obscure, but suggests the fish on page 44c or that on page 36b. The 4th sign with the prefix of the north is very indistinct.

10. B is standing in *water*, his face turned upward while water is pouring from a cloud. The third sign is very complex. The top, left, suggests a serpent, the right a hand, the bottom, left, a Chuen and the element at the bottom, right, may be intended for a bird's head. Exactly the same sign, with the 4th part merely indicated, occurs 65 days later on page 38. The 4th sign is the familiar compound Kin-Akbal.

11. B is sitting in a tent, on the roof of which there is a vessel containing food of some kind.

The third sign, which is very complex, is indistinct. The 4th sign likewise consists of four parts, the left, bottom, part is probably the vessel, above it is a spiral (which usually means serpent or time). The right, bottom, is again the sign resembling the year-sign which was spoken of in discussing group 6. The component at the right, top, is indistinct.

12. B is sitting here on no less than four astronomical signs,

he has the hatchet in his hand and the design on his back may be a shield or the elaborately ornamented sun-glyph Kin.

The third sign (denoting *beginning*?) has already been discussed in connection with group 7, which is 65 days earlier. The fourth is the sign of the year of 360 days or the month Pax with the Ben-Ik as a prefix. These signs are here suggestive of the beginning and end of the year.

13. Above B are astronomical signs (Jupiter and Mercury?) and also the sun and moon. The rain is pouring down upon the god, and a fish is placed beside him. He seems to have the same chisel in his hand which we saw him using on page 41b in connection with the beginning of the year. This again would correspond to the date indicated in the preceding picture. The shield (?) also is the same here as in the preceding group.

The third sign ought to represent the fish; the drawing seems to have been unsuccessful and the sign looks more like a bird and also resembles the third sign in the ninth group on page 36. The fourth sign is a Kin-Akbal.

14. B is seated on the elongated head *q*, which has an ordinary prefix. He is pointing upward with his right hand and the left looks as if opened to receive something.

The third hieroglyph contains a *q* like the one under the god, the fourth is an indistinct head (*C*'s?) with an unintelligible prefix.

15. B is standing in water while rain is again pouring down upon him. He holds the hatchet raised in his left hand, while the fingers of the right are extended upward in an unusual manner. This is repeated in the third hieroglyph.

The third hieroglyph, however, is the same as the third in the tenth group 65 days earlier, only here the hand is more distinct, while the element below it is vague. The fourth sign is again the one denoting beginning. Compare the fifth group (130 days earlier).

16. B with arms folded is sitting in a house with the Cauac sign below.

The third and fourth hieroglyphs contain the sign resembling that for the year, which was mentioned in discussing the sixth group (130 days earlier). In the third a Kin is prefixed to this

sign, while the superfix of the fourth is what I take to be a mat, which also occurred in the sixth group. The prefix is a figure suggesting the serpent-deity, which we have already met with in the tenth and fifteenth groups.

17. B, holding the hatchet, is seated on a Moan head, and the third sign is probably intended to represent the same Moan head, in front of which we find the same crouching person met with in the seventh group, 130 days earlier.

The fourth hieroglyph is again the sign for beginning, which we have already often met with, as, for example, 65 days earlier in the twelfth group.

18. B is sitting in the pouring rain under astronomical signs (Mars and Mercury?) to which those of the sun and moon are added. The god's face is upturned and he holds the hatchet in his hand.

The third hieroglyph may be the vulture head, to which a part of the unintelligible second hieroglyph may also refer. This second sign stands in the place of B's hieroglyph, which is wanting here.

The fourth sign contains the enigmatical numeral 8, which we found on pages 36b and 37b, and has the Imix sign as a prefix, as in the first of these two passages. The same compound appears on pages 67a-68a.

19. B is seated here on his own head, as in the fourth group he is sitting on D's. His hands are empty.

The second sign is again the vulture head instead of B's hieroglyph. The third is probably the head of the lightning beast, and the fourth is again the sign supposed to denote beginning.

20. B is sitting in water and holding in his hands a vessel with a Kan sign upon it.

The water (with Imix prefixed) is denoted by the third sign, while the fourth represents a head (with what is probably a hand pointing to the right above it), which I should prefer to consider the grain-deity E.

In conclusion I would call attention to the remarkable fact that every four pictures, which are separated from each other

by four of the other pictures, *i.e.*, after every 65 days, correspond in certain respects with one another, *viz.*—

1. Pictures 1, 6, 11 and 16. In all, and *only* in these, B is sitting in a house or tent, in 6 and 16 with his arms folded.

2. Pictures 2, 7, 12 and 17. In the first three the god is seated on astronomical signs and in the fourth on the Moan head, which I think refers to the Pleiades.

3. Pictures 3, 8, 13 and 18. Here in the last two B is sitting *beneath* astronomical signs. In all four pictures water, clouds and rain are represented.

4. Pictures 4, 9, 14 and 19. In the first and fourth the god is seated on D's head and on his own, and in the third on the elongated head *q*.

5. Pictures 5, 10, 15 and 20. Like the third of these five classes, these pictures are likewise distinguished by water, clouds and rain.

Now the first set of pictures is between the week days XIII and IX, the second between IX and VII, the third between VII and I, the fourth between I and XI, the fifth between XI and XIII, while the month days are quite different. Hence the conjecture is but natural that the pictures and week days bear some relation to one another, though that relation is still shrouded in obscurity.

#### Pages 40 c — 41 c.

I 10 XI 10 VIII 10 V 10 II 3 V 9 I

Ahau

Eb This is a Tonalamatl of the most ordinary kind,  
 Kan in which an unsuccessful attempt has been made to  
 Cib divide the subdivisions into equal parts.

Lamat.

In the groups of four hieroglyphs each, which belong to each of the six parts, the sign *f* always occupies the first place, and B the third. Let us now examine the six parts separately.

1. B is sitting in a boat and rowing (as on the top of the same page). Around his head there is again the suggestion of what may denote the starry sky, and in this picture his nose-peg is unusually large.



The second sign is an Imix, but it might also denote the thirteenth month Mac and therefore the Tonalamatl ( $13 \times 20$ ). The fourth sign is a fish forming a connecting link between the water represented below and the rest of the group.

2. B is seated on the Caban sign and his arms are apparently resting on an altar standing in front of him, on which fire is burning, indicated by the Ik sign, while the moon is placed below the altar.

The Caban sign below is repeated in the second hieroglyph, combined here as usual with a sign which may be Muluc.

The fourth sign is a head. I think the scribe meant to set down an 8 before it, but as there was not sufficient space for the heavy line *after* the three small circles, he indicated it by a black dot *below* the circles. Now, if we call the head D's, which of course cannot be asserted positively, this would be day VIII Ahau, and this, in fact, is twenty days from the beginning day I Ahau, as it is meant to be in this passage. There is no representation of food; can this have been a fast day?

3. B is seated on four astronomical signs. He wears the gala mantle and holds a serpent in his hand.

The second sign is *b*, and at the same time one of the astronomical signs. The fourth is the iguana prepared as food, recognizable by the spines on its back, as on page 25b. It is drawn in precisely the same curious fashion in Cort. 8 and 12c; hence it is represented in the picture by the serpent.

4. B is falling down from above headfirst. I believe that the numerous footprints below him are only intended to represent swift motion. The descent from above may only be intended here to bring the god into closer relationship with the head of the bird of prey in the fourth sign. That this head is again as usual joined to Kan, may refer merely to the fact that it was the Maya custom to eat bread with animal food. Compare page 27b. The second sign might be the abbreviation for the south.

5. B is seated on a mat with his hand extended as if to receive something. He is wet with water.

The second sign contains the mat, with what may be the year-

sign below it, and the leaf-shaped prefix probably denoting the plant from which the mat is plaited. The very same combination is given on page 35c and a similar one on 38c. The fourth sign has the prefix of the west followed by two Kans, as if on this day (V Akbal) it had been the custom to eat tortillas without meat.

6. B is standing holding the hatchet. The fourth sign must denote venison, the fourth article of animal food. The second seems to represent the day Eb, with which the remaining 52 days begin, and if the prefixed 9 indicates nothing more than that the ninth day of the month is here meant, it is further evidence that the "Dresdensis" began the days with Kan and not with Imix.

In the discussion of this Tonalamatl I have omitted the mention of a very peculiar feature, which as yet does not admit of explanation. I refer to the numbers below the pictures. With the first picture we find  $6+20$ , with the second 20, with the third  $19+20$ , with the fourth  $6+20$ , with the fifth  $19+20$ , and with the sixth  $6+20$ . i.e., with the exception of the second, 26 or 39, two multiples of 13. Now the question arises, should not one of these multiples have been set down with the second picture? There was no space left for a prefixed 19. Therefore the idea suggests itself that what we took to be an altar with the sign Ik above it, is intended for nothing else than this 19, and Ik is the 19th day, if we count from Kan as the starting-point.

### Pages 42 c — 45 c.

This is a Tonalamatl consisting of  $4 \times 65$  days. If written out in the usual way it would run as follows:—

XIII 17 IV 8 XII 8 VII 8 II 8 X 8 V 8 XIII

Akbal                Since, however, the subdivisions are divided  
Lamat              and the individual month days also are given for all  
Ben                 the parts of the whole Tonalamatl, the representa-  
Ezanab.            tion follows the order which we have already found  
on pages 31b-35b and 33c-39c. In this place, as in the two  
former ones, I will reproduce in four lines what is set down in the  
Manuscript in one single line extending over all four pages.

XIII Akbal (17) IV Ahau (8) XII Lamat (8) VII Cib (8) II Kan (8)  
 X Eb (8) V Ahau (8)  
 XIII Lamat (17) IV Chicchan (8) XII Ben (8) VII Imix (8) II Muhuc (8)  
 X Caban (8) V Chicchan (8)  
 XIII Ben (17) IV Oc (8) XII Ezanab (8) VII Cimi (8) II Ix (8) X Ik (8)  
 V Oc (8)  
 XIII Ezanab (17) IV Men (8) XII Akbal (8) VII Chuen (8) II Cauac (8)  
 X Manik (8) V Men (8)

Thus the days Chicchan, Lamat, Oc, Ben, Men, Ezanab, Ahau, and Akbal are repeated here twice, and the others occur but once. The 4 (17+48) strongly recalls the 4 (19+46) on pages 31b-35b. The repetition of six times eight days in each quarter of the Tonalamatl is closely connected with the fact that there are six Chuen signs on each page, two of which, however, are omitted on page 44. From this it follows, as we have already found on pages 25-28, that Chuen really denotes 8 days and that the count of the days in the "Dresdensis" begins with Kan. But the numbers 12, 15, 16 and 17 are entirely unexplained. They show no recognizable order and always stand near the bundle of Chuen signs. They recall the numbers on pages 25-28, which are equally irregular and unintelligible, and upon which, it is probable, light will break at the same time as it does upon these now under consideration.

We come now to the purport of this passage, which seems to be a further amplification of the contents of pages 29c-30c. The meaning is simply as follows:—every 65 days the god B discards a cardinal point and the deity presiding over it and installs another.

From this point of view let us now examine the four pictures.

1. Page 42. B is represented here as a warrior with the front of his body painted red. He is aiming a blow with his hatchet at a person sunk down before him, who, from the ornament above his head, seems to be the grain-deity E, the ruler of Kan and of the east, although the contents of this passage really demand a deity of the south, a ruler of Cauac. In a very similar way on page 27, E occurs with the completed Cauac years, instead of with the Kan years just beginning. Behind B's head is the sign of the discarded cardinal point, the south, while below it is a vessel with food, clearly a piece of venison with Kan.

2. Page 43 deals not with the removal of the old cardinal point, but with the introduction of the new one. Here B is rowing in a boat, as in other passages (29c), and Muluc, the north, has certainly a close relation to water. We see here two kinds of food, while none is represented on page 45. The same bird's head, which we find at the bottom of the corresponding page 28, is placed in front of the canoe, and on 29c it is combined with the representation of rowing a boat. On the left is the picture of a vessel with Kan and the iguana. There is something resembling a net between the boat and the bird.

3. Page 44 likewise refers to the introduction of the new cardinal point, west, which is represented on page 26 by the tiger Ix. The two hieroglyphs in the middle of this passage must surely refer to an animal; the lower is the skeleton of an animal, which we so often find as the sign of the lightning-dog, but also as that of the month Kankin, and the upper I take to be a rather vague picture of the day Oc, which certainly denotes the dog. Below these two signs the fish is represented as the fourth species of animal food.

The picture belonging to these hieroglyphs is very remarkable. B stands opposite a seated personage wearing an animal's snout, which somewhat resembles that of the wind-beast on pages 44b and 45b and also the nose of the storm-god K, who occurs on the corresponding pages 25 and 26 both with the coming and the departing Ix years, as he does here with the coming years. In the picture before us, the two personages seem to be throwing something resembling a rope at each other, as if these ropes were to be tied together. Is this meant to suggest the casting of lots by means of the knotting of cords, as it is represented on page 2? Or of hunting with snares?

Page 45 refers to the displacement of the Ix period by the Cauac period, i. e., of the west by the south. The end of the former is represented here. The lightning-beast, which occurred in the preceding period, here lies on his back and B sits astride his body brandishing in each hand a burning torch as an appropriate symbol of the south. On pages 29a and 30c we already saw the god riding on the lightning-dog.

Finally the six interesting hieroglyphs set down in a vertical

row on the left of each of the four pages are still to be examined. I will give here in the following table what I think is a correct interpretation of them:—

Page 42.	43.	44.	45.
South (1)	East (7)	North (13)	West (9).
It ends (2)	(8)	(14)	(20)
B (3)	(9)	(15)	(21)
the time of the Cauac (4),	Kan (10),	Muluc (16),	Ix (22),
while Kan (5),	Muluc (11),	Ix (17),	Cauac (23)
begins (6)	(12)	(18)	(24).

If that which is actually set down in the Manuscript be compared with this, it will be seen that in 11 of the 24 places the Manuscript corresponds to my hypothesis:— 1, 7 and 19 are the familiar signs for the three cardinal points, 8 and 20 are the sign Xul = end, which I have already frequently mentioned, 9 and 21 are the sign for B, 11 is Muluc, 23 is Cauac, where the scribe has added to the correct Kin-Cauac the sign for the year, as if the Cauac *years* were treated of here as on pages 26 and 27. Finally the two agree in 12 and 18, where the Manuscript has the compound Kan-Imix to denote beginning, *i. e.*, the two days beginning the series of twenty days, one of them according to this Manuscript, and the other according to the method resembling that used by the Aztecs.

The other cases have the correct signs, but set down in the wrong place, thus B is changed from 3 to 2, from 15 to 16, the north from 13 to 14, the Xul from 2 to 3, 14 to 15, the E (Kan) from 5 to 4 and 6 and Cauac from 4 to 5, *i. e.*, pushed along every time to the next place. This is all in favor of my theory. As one series began at the top, the scribe incorrectly placed the sign for beginning in the thirteenth place.

Strange to say in the tenth place we have the very general sign *a* in place of Kan. In the 4th, 17th and 22nd, and probably also in the half destroyed 6th sign, the scribe thoughtlessly put down a sign for E, which is proper only with Kan and should come after 5 or 10. Finally in the 24th place he put a sign for A, as if it were the intention that this passage should end exactly like its parallel on page 28. For, as a matter of fact, the two principal sections of the first part of the Dresdensis do end in a very similar way.

## PART II.

### Pages 46 — 74.

The first glance at the form and contents of the second part of the Manuscript shows that it is very different from the first. The pages are no longer divided into the usual three parts and there are fewer pictures. The Tonalamatls, which form the principal contents of the first part, disappear wholly, and with them both the vertical columns of day-signs and the horizontal lines of numerals alternating between red and black. On the other hand, the large number series as well as the high numbers significantly increase and we note the appearance of the large vertical columns of hieroglyphs, which were impossible in the triple division of the earlier pages. We also find a large number of hieroglyphs which did not occur in the first part. The contents are essentially astronomical.

And yet the two parts are so closely connected with one another that the idea of two independent Manuscripts must be dismissed. Especially the front side of the second part as far as page 60 is nothing more than an amplification of page 24. The contents of pages 61-74 are of a more independent nature, but special attention should be called to the relation of 31a-32a to 62-63.

### Pages 46 — 50.

The entire contents of these pages must be represented as a unit, for what is in the main true of page 24 is also true of these pages, namely that they treat exclusively of the period of 2920 days, in which five Venus years of 584 days each are brought into accord with eight solar or terrestrial years of 365 days each. Each page is a direct continuation of the preceding one. Each period of 2920 days is taken 13 times, the result being 37,960 days, which are equal to 146 Tonalamatls.

I will give here first a reproduction, as it were, of the left

side of the five pages, omitting for greater clearness a few indifferent matters, which are intended only to fill the blank spaces, viz:—

1. The twenty hands pointing to the right, with a knife placed over them, in the middle of the pages, which mean nothing more than that these parts of the Venus year are to be read from left to right.

2. The Venus hieroglyph three lines below, repeated twenty times with the sign of the knife, to denote the *division* of the Venus revolution.

3. The *Akbal* sign occurring further down, four times on each page, except on pages 46 and 47. This is the last of the day-signs, again counting forward from the day Kan, and means only that henceforth the *close* of the four periods of the Venus year is indicated below, as the beginning is indicated above.

4. The sixteen Venus signs also occurring below, except on page 48. This sign likewise occurs in a very similar form on Altar R of Copan.

With these omissions, the left side of these pages presents the following appearance:—

Page 46.				Page 47.			
III Cib	II Cimi	V Cib	XIII Kan	II Ahau	I Oc	IV Ahau	XII Lamat
XI Cib	X Cimi	XIII Cib	VIII Kan	X Ahau	IX Oc	XII Ahau	VII Lamat
VI Cib	V Cimi	VIII Cib	III Kan	V Ahau	IV Oc	VII Ahau	II Lamat
I Cib	XIII Cimi	III Cib	XI Kan	XIII Ahau	XII Oc	II Ahau	X Lamat
IX Cib	VIII Cimi	XI Cib	VI Kan	VIII Ahau	VII Oc	X Ahau	V Lamat
IV Cib	III Cimi	VI Cib	I Kan	III Ahau	II Oc	V Ahau	XIII Lamat
XII Cib	XI Cimi	I Cib	IX Kan	XI Ahau	X Oc	XIII Ahau	VIII Lamat
VII Cib	VI Cimi	IX Cib	IV Kan	VI Ahau	V Oc	VIII Ahau	III Lamat
II Cib	I Cimi	IV Cib	XII Kan	I Ahau	XIII Oc	III Ahau	XI Lamat
X Cib	IX Cimi	XII Cib	VII Kan	IX Ahau	VIII Oc	XI Ahau	VI Lamat
V Cib	IV Cimi	VII Cib	II Kan	IV Ahau	III Oc	VI Ahau	I Lamat
XIII Cib	XII Cimi	II Cib	X Kan	XII Ahau	XI Oc	I Ahau	IX Lamat
VIII Cib	VII Cimi	X Cib	V Kan	VII Ahau	VI Oc	IX Ahau	IV Lamat
4 Yaxkin	14 Zac	19 Zec	7 Xul	3 Cumhu	8 Zots	18 Pax	6 Kayab
North.	West	South	East	North	West	South	East
Gods.				Gods.			
236	326	576	584	820	910	1160	1168
9 Zac	19 Muan	4 Yax	12 Yax	3 Zots	13 Mol	18 Uo	6 Zip
Gods				Gods			
East	North	West	South	East	North	West	South
19 Kayab	4 Zots	14 Pax	2 Kayab	13 Yax	3 Pax	8 Chen	16 Chen
236	90	250	8	236	90	250	8

\*The Manuscript has incorrectly 8 and 18.

Page 48.				Page 49.			
I Kan	XIII Ix	III Kan	XI Eb	XIII Lamat	XII Eanab	II Lamat	X Cib
IX Kan	VIII Ix	XI Kan	VI Eb	VIII Lamat	VII Eanab	X Lamat	V Cib
IV Kan	III Ix	VI Kan	I Eb	III Lamat	II Eanab	V Lamat	XIII Cib
XII Kan	XI Ix	I Kan	IX Eb	XI Lamat	X Eanab	XIII Lamat	VIII Cib
VII Kan	VI Ix	IX Kan	IV Eb	VI Lamat	V Eanab	VIII Lamat	III Cib
II Kan	I Ix	IV Kan	XII Eb	I Lamat	XIII Eanab	III Lamat	XI Cib
X Kan	IX Ix	XII Kan	VII Eb	IX Lamat	VIII Eanab	XI Lamat	VI Cib
V Kan	IV Ix	VII Kan	II Eb	IV Lamat	III Eanab	VI Lamat	I Cib
XIII Kan	XII Ix	II Kan	X Eb	XII Lamat	XI Eanab	I Lamat	IX Cib
VIII Kan	VII Ix	X Kan	V Eb	VII Lamat	VI Eanab	IX Lamat	IV Cib
III Kan	II Ix	V Kan	XIII Eb	II Lamat	I Eanab	IV Lamat	XII Cib
XI Kan	X Ix	XIII Kan	VIII Eb	X Lamat	IX Eanab	XII Lamat	VII Cib
VI Kan	V Ix	VIII Kan	III Eb	V Lamat	IV Eanab	VII Lamat	II Cib
17 Yax	7 Pax	12 Chen	0 Yax	11 Zip	1 Mol	6 Uo	14 Uo
North	West	South	East	North	West	South	East
Gods				Gods			
1404	1494	1744	1752	1988	2078	2328	2336
2 Pax	7 Pop	17 Mac	5 Kankin	16 Yaxkin	6 Ceh	11 Xul	19 Xul
Gods				Gods			
East	North	West	South	East	North	West	South
7 Zip	17 Yaxkin	2 Uo	10 Uo	6 Kankin	16 Cumhu	1 Mac	9 Mac
236	90	250	8	236	90	250	8
Page 50.							
XII Eb	XI Ik	I Eb	IX Ahau				
VII Eb	VI Ik	IX Eb	IV Ahau				
II Eb	I Ik	IV Eb	XII Ahau				
X Eb	IX Ik	XII Eb	VII Ahau				
V Eb	IV Ik	VII Eb	II Ahau				
XIII Eb	XII Ik	II Eb	X Ahau				
VIII Eb	VII Ik	X Eb	V Ahau				
III Eb	II Ik	V Eb	XIII Ahau				
XI Eb	X Ik	XIII Eb	VIII Ahau				
VI Eb	V Ik	VIII Eb	III Ahau				
I Eb	XIII Ik	III Eb	XI Ahau				
IX Eb	VIII Ik	XI Eb	VI Ahau				
IV Eb	III Ik	VI Eb	I Ahau				
10 Kankin	20 Cumhu	5 Mac	13 Mac				
North	West	South	East				
Gods							
2572	2662	2912	2920				
15 Cumhu	0 Zec	10 Kayab	18 Kayab				
Gods							
East	North	West	South				
20 Xul	10 Zec	15 Zec	3 Xul				
236	90	250	8				

\*) = 20 Chen.

\*\*) The sign denotes the end of the 360-day year.

\*\*\*) = 30 Zots.



Let us first examine the numbers which are regularly repeated in the lowest line:—236, 90, 250, and 8, and we shall find that the 584 days of the apparent Venus revolution are divided into these four periods.

The number 236 denotes the time of the western elongation, when Venus is the morning star, 90 the time of the invisibility of the planet, during its superior conjunction, 250 that of its eastern elongation, when Venus is the evening star, and 8 the time of its invisibility during inferior conjunction. The disproportion between 236 and 250 is somewhat striking. These periods which need not of course be exactly equal are usually computed at 243 days. The short period of eight days is only calculated for very sharp eyes; we actually find in the *Anales del Museo Nacional de Mexico* II, 341 (Mex. 1882), that the Aztecs calculated only eight days for the invisibility of Venus, and this period is also mentioned in the *Anales de Quauhtitlan*. The repetition of the cardinal points in the 15th and 20th lines of the extract given above refer to these periods; in the upper line to their beginning and in the lower to their close. Hence in the lower line the cardinal points must advance one place and the gods belonging to them in the 16th and 19th lines must follow the same course.

The numbers in the 17th line indicate to which day of the period of 2920 days the position has advanced.

But now we see that the indication of days in the lines 1–13, the indication of months in lines 14, 18 and 21, and the numbers in line 17 are separated from those directly to the right of them by a number of days equal to the numbers given in the lowest line.

From this it follows that each day of the thirteen top lines is joined to each of the month dates placed just below them, forming a complete calendar date. Therefore from the III Cib on the left upper corner of page 46 a III Cib 4 Yaxkin, a III Cib 8 Zac, a III Cib 19 Kayab must be formed.

All the  $4 \times 13 \times 5 = 260$  day indications combined with three month indications each, show therefore that this whole passage is a huge abbreviation for 780 calendar dates and that the whole refers to  $3 \times 37,960$  days = 113,880 days. But 37,960

which we already found on page 24, is equal to  $146 \times 260$ ,  $104 \times 365$ ,  $65 \times 584$ ,  $13 \times 2920$ . I am inclined to think that I also found 113,880 on page 24.

But the  $3 \times 37,960 = 113,880$  days do not form the entire period treated of here. For the three periods begin and end with the days:—

I Ahau 13 Mac (10 Muluc),  
I Ahau 18 Kayab (3 Kan),  
I Ahau 3 Xul (4 Cauac).

Hence these three dates, the second of which was found on page 24, prove that the three periods of 37,960 are not consecutive, but that there is an interval between them. Now between the first and second of the three dates the interval is 19 years + 85 days = 7020 days, and between the second and third, the interval is 26 years + 130 days = 9620 days. If these two periods be added to the 113,880 days, the sum is the whole period treated of here, viz: —  $130,520 = 502 \times 260$  days.

But a truly surprising result is obtained, if, as must often be the case with series, we begin not with the upper of the three dates, but with the lower.

From I Ahau 3 Xul (4 Cauac) to I Ahau 18 Kayab (3 Kan) there is a lapse of 9360 days or 12 apparent Mars years of 780 days, such as we shall find as the principal subject of page 59. 9360, however, equals  $25 \times 365 + 235$  days. We shall meet with this 235 again as a difference on page 63.

But from I Ahau 18 Kayab (3 Kan) to I Ahau 13 Mac (10 Muluc) there are 11,960 days, i. e., the 104 Mercury years, which we found on page 24, and which we shall find again as the principal period on pages 51–58. But this is equal to 32 years + 280 or 33 years — 85 days. Now if 113,880, 9360, 11,960 are added together, we have for the entire period under discussion here, 135,200 days, and this is equal to  $2 \times 260 \times 260$  days. Thus the Mayas seem actually to have had an idea of a second power.

Finally I would call attention to a singular double connection between the numbers occurring here:—

$$\begin{aligned} 37,960 - 11,960 &= 26,000 = 100 \text{ Tonalamatls,} \\ 11,960 - 9,360 &= 2600 = 10 \text{ Tonalamatls.} \end{aligned}$$

But if we subtract  $2 \times 11,960 = 23,920$  from 37,960, the remainder is 14,040, i. e., an extraordinary number which often occurs and is equal to  $54 \times 260$ ,  $39 \times 360$  and  $18 \times 780$ .

In short, a Mars and a Mercury-lunar period are inserted in the two spaces between the three solar-Venus periods.

Now, let us try to gain a clearer understanding of this subject by approaching from another side.

As we have seen, the beginning of the middle one of the three equal periods of 37,960 days, is the date I Ahau 18 Kayab (3 Kan). Now, however, page 24 furnished us with a day number for this date, 1,364,360, and from this the beginnings of the other two periods may be computed in the following way:—

$$\text{I Ahau 3 Xul (4 Cauac)'} = 1,317,040,$$

$$\text{I Ahau 18 Kayab (3 Kan)} = 1,364,360,$$

$$\text{I' Ahau 13 Mac (10 Muluc)} = 1,414,280.$$

Between the first number and the second there are 47,320 days  $= 2^3 \times 5 \times 7 \times 13^2$ , and between the second and third 49,920 days  $= 2^4 \times 3 \times 5 \times 13$  days.

But, according to what has been stated above,  $47,320 = 37,960 + 9360$ , and  $49,920 = 37,960 + 11,960$ .

The whole period is therefore divided as follows:—

It begins with a Venus-solar-Tonalamatl-period followed by 12 Mars years, then the great period again followed by  $8 \times 13 = 104$  Mercury years, and lastly, apparently about the present time, comes the third great period, which, as already stated, ends 135,200 days after the first date.

The case assumes a different aspect, if we insert between the three dates the other two from page 24:—

$$1,317,040 = \text{I Ahau,}$$

$$1,352,400 = \text{I Ahau,}$$

$$1,364,360 = \text{I Ahau,}$$

$$1,366,560 = \text{IV Ahau,}$$

$$1,414,280 = \text{I Ahau.}$$

Here we have again, as examination of page 24 showed, the difference 11,960 between the second and third numbers, while there is no longer any connection with the periods of 37,960 days.

Of the left halves of the pages we have now examined all except the twenty hieroglyphs of the gods. I shall mention them according to the upper place in line 16; the lower in line 19, where the hieroglyphs move forward only one place, is only referred to when the two signs differ. They offer many problems still unsolved.

The first sign on page 46 is an unknown sign, which, however, is repeated several times on the right side of the pages; the second is probably an Ahau (*i. e.*, D) with a prefix suggesting the snail, the symbol of birth; the third is a head also occurring elsewhere, which I have not yet determined; the fourth is A; compare page 24, hieroglyph 25.

Page 47. The first sign is probably K; compare the third picture on page 7a with its hieroglyph; the second is C's hieroglyph with an Akbal appropriate to it; the third sign is Moan with the 13 belonging to it; the fourth sign is N's with a prefixed 4; the year-sign in the lower series is replaced by Zac, which agrees equally well; compare page 24, hieroglyph 21.

Page 48. The first sign is Kin with the Ben-Ik superfix, perhaps denoting G; the second is a figure similar to the year-sign with a prefixed 6. This same sign in the line below has a 6, but is very different in other respects; the third is an Akbal with superfix and prefix, perhaps denoting D; the fourth is a head which might easily be F's; compare page 24, hieroglyph 22.

Page 49. The first sign is B's; the second, A's; the 3d, K's; compare page 24, hieroglyph 38; the fourth is H's with a prefixed 1; compare page 24, hieroglyphs 23 and perhaps 37.

Page 50. The first sign is E's; compare page 24, hieroglyph 38; the second is L, the black deity; compare page 24, hieroglyph 32; the third is an unknown hieroglyph with a prefixed 7, which also occurs on page 5a and 19b; the fourth is the bat-god; compare page 24, hieroglyph 24.

I find it impossible to discover any relation between these hieroglyphs and the periods and I have as little success with the hieroglyphs apparently belonging to the same cardinal point. Perhaps we should follow Seler here (Quetzalcoatl and Kukulcan, p. 403), who thinks these passages suggest constellations with which Venus is in conjunction; this question, owing

to the retrogression of the planet, raises increased difficulties. It is curious that the fourth of these signs on page 46 is like the fourteenth on page 49 (A), and perhaps the two following refer to the same god K; the first two are separated by 1494 days and the latter by 1508 days.

We come now to the *right* half of the pages. Interpretation is rendered impossible by the destruction of the top part. For we do not even know whether the upper hieroglyphs occupied three or four rows each, the latter being the case at least in part, and there may have been a superscription over the day signs in the left half.

These upper signs are always followed by a picture, then three rows of hieroglyphs, then a second picture and next two rows of hieroglyphs and lastly a third picture.

Let us first examine the pictures:—

At the top of pages 46–49 there is on each page a deity, who with his right arm extended is offering or receiving something. He is seated on astronomical signs; on page 46 B's head accompanies these signs. On pages 46 and 48 the deity is undoubtedly the old woman with tiger claws, who usually pours streams of water from a jug (compare pages 39, 43 and 74). I cannot identify the personage on pages 47 and 49. The object in the deity's hand seems invariably to be a cup of foaming pulque. On page 49 another object is placed above the cup, which I am unable to determine. The fifth, page 50, differs from the other four and forms the connecting link, as it were, between the upper row of pictures and the middle and lower ones. Here, too, a personage is represented sitting on astronomical signs and exhibiting symptoms of violent anger toward a second person opposite him holding the cup in his hands. Both personages are painted as warriors.

The middle pictures on all the pages represent a warrior in a half-kneeling, half-crouching posture, holding spears or a shield in the right hand and brandishing a hatchet in the left. The shield on page 46 is doubtless a representation of the sun-glyph; and on 47 the Venus sign is combined with the head ornament. The hieroglyphs of these deities occupy the first place in the middle line of the three lines above the pictures.

The five lower pictures represent a creature lying on the ground, pierced by arrows and spears. On page 47 it is a jaguar; at any rate it is the same animal found on pages 29a, 30c and 45c; a very similar creature pierced by arrows is given in the Cod. Vat. B.; compare also the pictures in Seler's "Venusperiode," page 371. On the other four pages this creature is in human guise. On page 50 where, differing from the other four pages, this figure is represented lying with the head to the right, it is plainly shedding tears. Seler takes this figure to be E on page 48 and the tortoise on page 49. The varying periods of time occupied by the revolution of the planets is plainly conceived of as contest. But who is the victor in this contest? The planet with the longer or with the shorter period of revolution? Owing to obliteration only a small part of the hieroglyphs of the top section is legible.

On page 46 we see the Venus sign and E's hieroglyph; on page 47 the sign *c*, which occurs frequently on these pages, and is probably always connected with Moan (the Pleiades and thus with the year). The numeral 1, prefixed to an obliterated sign on page 47, is still legible, and we find it repeated on the lower part of the same page. There is rather more to be seen on page 48:—first the elongated head *q* with the Ben-Ik superfix, then the sign *a*, beside it that for the west with a prefix, in the line below an Ahau, next, an Akbal sign with the prefix of the north, and lastly a Moan sign.

On page 49 we see sign *c* again occupying the first place, then *o* with Ben-Ik, and in the lower line the year sign with that for 20 or the moon as a superfix, and to the right of it the head with the Akbal eye, probably denoting D.

This top part of the page is best preserved on page 50. In the third line from the bottom we see the Venus sign and beside it the Moan sign, below, a Cauac, then a Kin with the Ben-Ik superfix, then a Kan-Imix. Finally, in the first place in the lowest row there is a Kin sign and in the second place a sign resembling the year-sign, both having the same superfix, the next sign is again *c* and the last is a half-effaced sign, of which only a Muluc is distinguishable.

Our knowledge of the middle section of these pages is some-

what more definite. There are twelve hieroglyphs on each page, which I will number in the following order:—

1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12.

Unquestionably these  $5 \times 12$  signs refer to a Venus year, more exactly to the *beginning* of it, the period of the east. The first sign, which is a hand pointing to the right, merely refers here, as on the left side, to the direction in which this is to be read; the second sign is always the sign for the east, and the sixth invariably that for Venus.

Notice should be taken of the fact that the signs of the Moan and screech-owl or death-bird are recurrent, that of the Moan appearing on page 46, sign 7; 48, 3; 49, 11; 50, 11; and that of the death-bird on page 47, sign 3; 48, 11, 49, 3, 50, 3 and 7, *i. e.*, only in places 3, 7 and 11, which indicates that the 12 signs are divided each time into three times four.

It is further to be noted that the five gods, who are represented on page 24 by hieroglyphs 36–40, always recur in the ninth place in the order of the pages:— the god represented on page 24 by sign 36 is the 8th on page 49; the 38th on the same page is the 11th on page 46 and the 12th on page 50; the 39th is the 12th on page 47, and the 40th may be the 5th on page 49, though this is hardly possible. On page 49 the 9th hieroglyph seems to be the 39th on page 24 joined to the sign for the month Kayab.

Of the twenty gods on the left side of these pages, I have already remarked that E, who on page 24 occupies the 38th place, and the 11th on page 46, also occurs as the 9th on page 48 and the 12th on page 50.

It is doubtless of special significance that the sign of the first of the twenty deities on the left side of page 46 is repeated on the right as the tenth sign on all the pages (on page 47 also in the eleventh place where it has a prefixed 3). It seems as if this sign, which is otherwise quite unfamiliar, might be connected with the sun and regarded as a contrast to the Venus sign in the sixth place.

Also the 9th deity of the left side, the 1st of page 48, re-

appears in the 4th place on page 49; the 10th deity, the 2nd on page 48, in the 12th on page 49; the 15th deity, the 3d on page 49, in the 9th on page 46 and the 8th on page 49 (as already stated); the 18th, the 2nd on page 50, in the 5th on page 46.

The 2nd of these deities is suggested by the 8th on page 47, perhaps also by the 5th on page 50; the 3d and 13th seem to be A and to recur in the 3d place on page 46.

On the other hand C, the god who, as I believe I have proved, is connected with the day-sign Chuen, does not appear on the left side. Now the 4th sign on page 46 contains a Chuen, which in the 12th sign on page 48 is probably combined with a Muluc, in the 12th on page 49 with Yax and a prefixed 6, and in the 4th sign on page 50 with C's sign, *i.e.*, as a rule Chuen stands in the 4th place in a line.

As the gods E and K already mentioned also appear on pages 25-28 in connection with the change of the year, so we find the tiger on the top of page 26, and I believe this animal occurs again in the 7th sign on page 47.

Of the day-signs I take the 4th on page 47 to be Kan, the 7th on page 48 to be Caban, and the next sign, the 8th on page 48, to be Muluc. Now if we take into consideration the fact, that of the three periods of the month signs on the left side of these pages, the 18th (the middle) line is the most important, owing to its ending, 18 Kayab, alone, if for no other reason; furthermore, that in this middle period the second Venus year always ends with a Kan year and the third with a Muluc year, one is naturally led to suppose that the illegible sign 12 on page 46 is an Ix (for thus the first Venus year ends) and that the days Cauac and Kan might have been found among the obliterated day-signs on pages 49 and 50.

I shall examine the remaining signs in the order of the pages.

Sign 8 on page 46 is the same compound of Yax and Kin having as a superfix the sign assumed by me to be the numeral 18, which occurs again in the lower group on page 50 and also on page 27.

In the number 11 prefixed to the fifth sign on page 47, the 1 seems to be indistinct and may not belong here. If we correctly assume that this number is 10, then the sign is the same as



the 34th on page 24, to the discussion of which I beg to refer my readers.

Sign 8 on page 47 is an indistinct compound, the first part of which I supposed above to be the sign of the second deity on page 46.

I cannot explain 4 and 5 on page 48.

As yet I do not understand sign 5 on page 49, which we seem to have met before on page 22c.

Sign 7 on page 49 is the moon, which is very curious here.

I would like to call special attention to signs 5 to 8 on page 50. I interpret the passage thus:—At the time of the summer solstice after the reappearance of the Pleiades, the change of the Venus year takes place (this time). I have already discussed the Venus sign in the sixth place and the screech-owl so closely connected with the Moan (Pleiades) in the seventh place. Sign 5 connects the sun (Kin) with the Ahau (lord) and the cross-hatching on the left of it, which I have assigned to the tortoise and thus to the summer solstice (Zur Entzifferung III, 3). Sign 8 is recognized as very appropriate to the change of year; compare the first sign of the middle section on pages 25–28. All this points to the day 18 Kayab, of one of the Kan years, if, as I stated above, we base our computation on the middle series of dates.

Now we have yet to examine the eight signs of the lower group, which we will do in the following order:—

1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8

Regarding the beginnings of these groups, I will venture a bold surmise, which will, I hope, be improved upon by some one else. It concerns the first sign of four of these five groups, which seem to me to refer to the end of the Venus year, as those above refer to the beginning. This sign has the following form:—



I see in this the term of 73 days, which is the fifth part of the 365 days of the solar year and the eighth part of the 584 days of the Venus year:—

It is combined with Chuen in all four cases (pages 46, 48, 49 and 50). But I attribute the meaning of eight days to this Chuen sign, as I did on pages 25–28 and 42c–45c, though I am doubtful in these as in other cases.

Page 46 contains the sign for 73 with a Chuen under it, and a 1 prefixed to each sign; i. e.,  $1 \times 8 \times 73 =$  expiration of the first Venus year.

On page 48 Chuen follows the sign for 73 and each sign has a 3 prefixed to it; i. e.,  $3 \times 8 \times 73$ , expiration of the third Venus year.

On page 49 the two signs again stand side by side, but the prefix is a 7 instead of the expected 4. By an error this 4 has been added to the 3 of the preceding page, but, for a wholly unintelligible reason, prefixed to the crouching person below the Chuen, as if to correct the 7.

Page 50 again has the sign for 73 above and the Chuen below. A prefixed 5 would seem to be in order; instead of it, there is a 10, one 5 for the 73 and another 5 for the 8 days. In this connection let me say that I believe I have found on page 27, top left, the year of 365 days divided into  $5 \times 73$ .

Page 47 differs from the others. Above two oval bodies appears the cross-hatched figure resembling a clamp, like the one in the middle group of page 50 in the fifth place, which I ventured to refer to the summer solstice. There is a 1 prefixed to it. Is this equivalent to a union of two Venus revolutions?

Next we repeatedly meet here, as we did in the middle groups, with the Moan sign and that of the screech-owl belonging with it; the former is the 6th sign on page 46 and page 50, and the latter is the 3d and 7th on page 47, the 7th on page 49 and finally the 2nd and 4th on page 50.

The moon is represented in the 5th sign on page 48 and in the 3d on page 49 and indistinctly in the 4th on page 48.

The cardinal points occur here several times. The 3d and 7th signs on page 46 have at least the superfix of the south as a

prefix; the 8th on page 47 apparently has the east, but with the familiar cross-hatched sign prefixed; the 7th on page 48 plainly has the east, the 3d on page 50 the prefix of the north prefixed to the cross *b*, and the 8th on page 50 the west, thus approximating the usual order and distribution.

Of the gods I note the Akbal head, perhaps intended for D, in the 4th place on page 46, also in the 3d on page 48, and lastly in the 5th on page 49, the first two times with the Ben-Ik superfix, and in the 2nd place on page 47 the sign for A.

In the 4th place on page 47 we have the tortoise as the sign of the month Kayab or of the summer solstice, in the 6th on page 47 the lightning-beast or the month Kankin with a Ben-Ik superfix; the beast itself is pictured below, and the same hieroglyph also with the Ben-Ik superfix is the 8th sign on page 49.

It is hard to decide whether the sign 4 on page 49 represents the god F owing to the line through the eye, or a female by reason of the prefixed lock.

Sign 7 on page 50 represents the deity whose sign began the series of twenty gods on the left of page 46 and which we have already met with several times in the centre of the right side. We recognize the prefix as having occurred in the middle group of the same page.

Sign 6 on page 48 is a Kin combined with an unfamiliar sign. Sign 5 on page 50 contains a Kin with a Yax and probably with 18 as a superfix (as on pages 27 and 46 middle).

Sign 6 on page 49 contains a crouching person with a 4 which is probably out of place here and to be regarded as a correction of the 7 above it.

Sign 5 on page 46 contains a Mac denoting the thirteenth Uinal or a Tonalamatl, and having the sign *p* as a superfix and a double Ik as a prefix.

Sign 3 on page 46 merits special attention, because it contains the duplication of the sign, which, at the end of the first part of the Manuscript, pages 29-41, always began the groups of hieroglyphs on the lower third of the pages.

I do not understand the second hieroglyph on page 46 and the 5th on page 47.

In conclusion I would call attention to the fact that the last hieroglyph on page 48 is very peculiar. As on pages 51, 52, 61 and 69 it has the meaning of 18,980 days and consists of an Imix with a comprehensive superfix; its prefix is a 7.

But what is the meaning here of  $7 \times 18,980 = 132,860$ ? When we recall the statement made above that the whole section of pages 46-50 embraces 130,520 days, or, according to another calculation 135,200 days, it is a striking fact that 132,860 is exactly the mean of the two numbers, being separated from each by 2340 days  $= 9 \times 260$ . Can it be an accident that on the next page (page 49) the fourth Venus revolution is reached, for  $4 \times 584 = 2336$ , i. e., almost 2340? The hieroglyph discussed here would not be so extraordinary on page 50. I will not venture to assert as to the 511 in  $132,860 = 511 \times 260$ , that it is connected with the 511 which will appear as the difference on page 58.

Before leaving these pages, I will give a brief survey of the two signs of the screech-owl and the Moan (hieroglyph *c* and the lower part of *d*) which occur on these pages with such marked frequency.

In spite of obliteration, the first of these two signs is distinguishable in the top groups on pages 47, 49 and 50, in the middle groups on pages 47, 48, 49 and twice on page 50, in the lower groups on page 46, twice on page 47, once on 49, twice again on 50, making 14 times in all. A few additional cases might be added to these where the similar hieroglyph of the moon may have been set down instead of the one in question.

On the other hand the second sign, always provided with the same prefix and suffix as the first, occurs in the top groups on page 48 and 50, in the middle of pages 46, 48, 49 and 50, and in the lowest on pages 46 and 50, 8 times in all.

Since the subject here is astronomical, it is suggestive less of a deity or a sacrifice than of a period of time to which the allied page 24 has already referred (see page 110 of this book). The inner meaning of these pages is of course still enveloped in mystery.

**Pages 51a—52a.**

I shall begin the discussion of this very peculiar section with the remarkable fourth column on page 52, which, very possibly, the scribe ought to have placed at the beginning; for it looks like a repetition of the section on pages 46–50, while everything else on the left and right of it, apparently belongs together.

If we omit the two hieroglyphs at the top, which I regard as belonging to the two rows of hieroglyphs extending over these two pages, we shall have the following result, according to my point of view:—

1	5
Chuen	360
2	18,980.

Since, as is frequently the case, the Chuen will here have the value of 8 days and the 5 with the sign for 360 may be regarded as 365, this group might denote  $8 \times 365 = 2920$ , but actually be  $2 \times 18,980 = 37,960$ . Both numbers are the basis of the section included on pages 46–50. And in the same way the 13 repeated 13 times seems to me to refer to the 13 series of days on those pages, which begin with the 13th day of the Uinal.

The two rows of hieroglyphs are in the main destroyed. We can still recognize in the second and third columns of page 51 the signs for end and beginning, which we often find in the vicinity of numbers; in the second and third columns of page 52, the sun and moon; in the fourth column, the 8 days of such significance here and in the fifth and sixth, the normal date IV Ahau 8 Cumhu repeated twice.

As the problem on pages 46–50 was to bring into accord the solar year with the Venus year and consequently also the Tonalamatl, i.e., to combine 365, 584 and 260, so the aim here is first of all to bring the Tonalamatl into unison with the Mercury year (115). For this purpose the number 11,960 is employed. This is equal to  $46 \times 260 = 104 \times 115$ , including, therefore just as many Mercury years as there were solar years in the preceding section. 11,960 is also  $8 \times 1495$ , and this 8 is significant here, for, as we shall see directly, the day forming the basis

of this calculation is XII Lamat, which comes 8 days after the normal date IV Ahau.

The series given here is based, therefore, on 11,960 and consists entirely of multiples of this number, which, it is true, are recorded with the usual irregularity. The members of this series, representing the greatest values, which are set down in red numbers among the black, are the 31st and 39th multiples of 11,960, which are separated from each other by  $8 \times 11,960$ , viz:— 370,760 and 466,440. All these numbers, of course, denote the day IV Ahau.

The day XII Lamat as the actual starting-point of the Mercury revolution is not introduced until we come to the dates placed below the series. Here we find the days XII Lamat, I Akbal, III Ezanab, V Ben and VII Lamat written one below the other, and repeated seven times. Each of these days is separated from the next by 15, and the last of one row and the first of the next on the left are 200 days apart, hence the whole is equal to  $7 \times 260 = 1820$  days. From XII Lamat begins also the Peresianus, pages 21–22.

Now these dates are connected with the four large numbers, which we find on page 52, but between the third and fourth, one number corresponding to the day V Ben is omitted for lack of space.

These four numbers, to which I have added the corresponding dates, are as follows:—

1,412,848 = XII Lamat 1 Muan (6 Muluc).

1,412,863 = I Akbal 16 Muan (6 Muluc).

1,412,878 = III Ezanab 11 Pax (6 Muluc).

1,434,748 = VII Lamat 1 Muan (1 Muluc).

It is curious that while the first three are separated from each other by 15, between the 3d and 4th, or rather between the missing 4th and 5th,  $84 \times 260$  days are inserted in excess of the required 15, i. e., 21,855. This, however, is not accidental, but is due to the fact that between the first number and the last exactly  $21,900 = 60 \times 365$  days have elapsed. This number is, however,  $= 18,980 + 2920$ , i. e., the sum of two very important numbers, in the first of which the Tonalamatl and the solar year

accord, while both the solar and Venus years occur in the second.

I must here call attention to the fact that the four numbers are not obtained without slight corrections, since in the 20-place of the third, I have put a 11 instead of 10, while in the 360-place of the fourth, I have omitted the three dots, *i. e.*, set down a 5 instead of the 8.

Of these four dates, which were doubtless not far removed from the time of the scribe, the three last are only the result of the first. Day XII Lamat is the most important. As the beginning of a Mercury period it should be regarded in the same way as I Ahau of the Venus period and IV Ahau of the solar period; and the very next day, XIII Muluc, will subsequently be seen to be the beginning day of the Mars period.

The four dates XII Lamat, I Akbal, III Ezanab and VII Lamat are set down in the Manuscript directly below the numbers.

Now in the first column on page 51 we again find a day XII Lamat, as is expressly stated beneath it. It has the number 1,578,988 and the corresponding date is XII Lamat 6 Cumhu (6 Kan). This day, however, is separated from the same day on page 52 ( $1,412,848 = \text{XII Lamat 1 Muan 6 Muluc}$ ) by 166,140 days, that is by  $8 \times 18,980 + 14,300 = 639 \times 260$ , *i. e.*, by 8 so-called Katuns increased by 55 Tonalamatls. Here  $58 \times 260 = 15,080$  seems to have been added to 252 (XII Lamat—IV Ahau) and the sum subtracted from 14 Ahau-Katuns = 1,594,320. I could obtain this number only by substituting 1 for 0 in the 20-place.

In the Manuscript the sign XII Lamat is set down above and below this number. I must leave undetermined whether the 8 directly above the number and combined with Kin and the Katun sign refers only to the 8 Katuns or at the same time also to the 8 days from IV Ahau to XII Lamat.

It is also to be noted here that once before on page 24 of this Manuscript (which forms the basis of this section)  $8 \times 18,980 = 151,840$  days was found to be the difference between 185,120 and 33,280, and that there, too, if my restoration is correct, it was the highest term of the series  $= 4 \times 37,960$ .

Finally, in the first column of page 51, we have the complete

normal date 4 Ahau 8 Cumhu (9 Ix). But below this, between red numerals denoting the 1,578,988 mentioned above, there is set down in black the number 1,268,800. This corresponds to the date IV Ahau 3 Zip (2 Cauac). It may have been formed by adding  $16,120 = 62 \times 260$  to 11 Ahau-Katuns = 1,252,680. It is, however, not only equal to  $4880 \times 260$ , but also to  $158,600 \times 8$ , therefore also divisible by the interval between IV Ahau XII Lamat, as well as by  $104 = 8 \times 13$ , while on the contrary it is not as we should expect, divisible by 11,960. I have changed the 11, in the  $20 \times 11$ , to 8 by omitting one line and adding two dots, for otherwise the result would not be the one required.

The magnitude of the number recalls the one on page 31, which is only 260 less, and that on page 62.

Finally it should be noted that the two large numbers on page 51 are separated from one another by 310,188 days = 849 years and 303 days, which corresponds exactly to the dates given for each. One may be situated as far in the future as the other is in the past, but this does not necessarily mean that the present coincides exactly with 1,423,894.

### Pages 51—58.

Thus far we have examined only the upper halves of pages 51 and 52 and have still to consider the lower, but not until we have finished the upper parts of pages 53—58 of which the former are the continuation. We have first to consider the series, then the pictures and lastly the hieroglyphs.

As on page 24 we found multiples of the number 2920 ( $= 8 \times 365 = 5 \times 584$ ), while on pages 46—50 it was divided into four unequal parts, so on pages 51—52 we find multiples of the number 11,960 ( $104 \times 115 = 46 \times 260$ ) while on pages 53—58 it is divided into 69 unequal parts. On pages 51—52 it was the aim to combine only the Mercury course with the Tonalamatl, but here we are confronted with the additional problem of bringing the lunar revolution into accord with these two.

The lunar revolution, which we assume to be 29.53 days, of course requires fractional computation, of which the Mayas either were ignorant or which they timorously avoided; like the ancient Egyptians, who were acquainted only with fractions



having 1 as numerator, or beyond these at most with  $\frac{1}{2}$  (see Hultsch, "Die Elemente der ägyptischen Teilungsrechnung," 1895, page 16).

Now the Mayas had determined the lunar revolution so exactly that they perceived the incompatibility of the period of 11,960 days with a multiple of lunar revolutions. They found that 405 lunar revolutions amounted approximately to 11,958 days, which is, in fact, the largest number on the second half of page 58. In order not to drop the significant 11,960 altogether, they made use of a very shrewd artifice. They took as the starting-point the day XII Lamat, corresponding to the number 11,960, and set down XI Manik before it and XIII Muluc after it. Now if the count began with XIII Muluc and ended with XI Manik, it actually resulted in 11,958.

Therefore what the Manuscript presents here is, in the first place, the series, which is this time to be read from left to right. Below it are the three days belonging to each member of the series and then a number for each member stating the interval between it and the preceding one. The members, the days and the differences must correspond with one another. It is, therefore, no longer necessary to pay especial attention to the two latter. They will serve merely to control and to correct the manifold errors.

The entire period of 11,958 days was doubtless first divided into three equal periods of 3986 days. And in order still further to subdivide these shorter periods, the term of 177 days was employed as far as it would go; 177, however, is the half of a lunar year of 354 days, made up of 6 months of 30 days and 6 of 29 days, thus allowing 29.5 days in round numbers for each month.

Now  $177 = 3 \times 29 + 3 \times 30$ . The average, 29.5, however, is too short for the length of the lunar revolution. In order to raise it as nearly as possible to the exact time, two other numbers were introduced at certain points of the series, viz:— $148 = 2 \times 29 + 3 \times 30$ ,  $178 = 2 \times 29 + 4 \times 30$ .  $148 = 5$  months of 29.6 days, while  $178 = 6$  months of  $29 \frac{1}{2}$  days. Now let us see in what *proportion* these 148 and 178 days were distributed among the periods of 177.

First we see that the period of 3986 days (i.e., a third of the whole) was divided into 3 sections of 1742, 1034 and 1210 days, as follows:—

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 1742 & = & 8 \times 177 + 148 + 178 \\
 1034 & = & 4 \times 177 + 148 + 178 \\
 1210 & = & 6 \times 177 + 148 \\
 \hline
 3986 & = & 18 \times 177 + 3 \times 148 + 2 \times 178.
 \end{array}$$

This is equal to 135 months of 29.526 days each. Now the question arises how did the Mayas express this fraction?

Perhaps some time in the future it will be found, that following their vigesimal system, they designated it approximately thus:—

$$29 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{20} + \frac{1}{200}.$$

The *whole* period of 11,958 days was divided as follows:—

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 3 \times 1742 & = & 24 \times 177 + 3 \times 148 + 3 \times 178 \\
 3 \times 1034 & = & 12 \times 177 + 3 \times 148 + 3 \times 178 \\
 3 \times 1210 & = & 18 \times 177 + 3 \times 148 \\
 \hline
 3 \times 3986 & = & 54 \times 177 + 9 \times 148 + 6 \times 178.
 \end{array}$$

Thus for every 6 parts of 177 days there was consequently 1 of 148 and to every 9 parts of 177, 1 of 178.

Since 177 and 178 include 6 months each, while 148 equals 5 months, the entire length of the period is 405 months, which are divided into 69 periods.

It was necessary to discuss all this before I could introduce the entire series itself. In the following table I have set down the numbers and added to them the differences between each number and the preceding one (to the first, the interval between it and the zero point), just as they are given in the Manuscript. An asterisk is added to show that the number has been corrected by me and is wrong in the Manuscript, owing to a mistake either in writing or in computation. The three columns correspond to the three divisions of 3986 days, and the two horizontal lines divide the periods of 1742, 1034 and 1210 days.

Page 53a:		24. 4163* 177	47. 8149 177
1. 177 177		25. 4340 177	48. 8326 177
2. 354* 177		26. 4488 148*	49. 8474 148
3. 502 148		Page 58a:	50. 8651 177*
4. 679* 177		27. 4665 177	Page 55b:
5. 856 177		28. 4842 177	51. 8828 177
6. 1034* 178*		29. 5020 178*	52. 9006 178*
Page 54a:		30. 5197 177	53. 9183 177
7. 1211 177		Page 51b:	54. 9360 177
8. 1388 177		31. 5374 177	55. 9537 177
9. 1565 177		32. 5551 177	56. 9714 177
10. 1742* 177		33. 5728 177	
11. 1919 177		34. 5905 177	57. 9891 177
12. 2096* 177		35. 6082 177	58. 10068* 177*
13. 2244* 148		36. 6230 148	Page 56b:
Page 55a:		Page 52b:	59. 10216 148*
14. 2422* 178		37. 6408 178*	60. 10394 178*
15. 2599* 177		38. 6585 177	61. 10571 177
16. 2776 177		39. 6762 177	62. 10748 177
17. 2953 177		40. 6939 177	Page 57b:
18. 3130 177		Page 53b:	63. 10925 177
Page 56a:		41. 7116 177	64. 11102 177
19. 3278 148		42. 7264 148	65. 11250 148
20. 3455 177		43. 7441 177	66. 11427 177
21. 3632 177		44. 7618 177	67. 11604 177
22. 3809 177		45. 7795 177	Page 58b:
Page 57a:		Page 54b:	68. 11781 177
23. 3986 177*		46. 7972 177	69. 11958 177

No one acquainted with the cursoriness of the Maya Manuscripts will be surprised that among 138 numbers I have declared 21 to be wrong. Furthermore the 21 errors are lessened by the fact that six of them are really only one, for in all 6 cases where the difference is 178, the scribe has overlooked this and written down the usual 177, although the numbers and the days of the series very correctly indicate 178. Again the three errors in groups 58 and 59 are also only one, for the author had confused

the differences 177 and 148 and had, therefore, to write down 10,039 instead of 10,068. In group 4 the error is merely the omission of a line meaning 5. The scribe must have been at the same time the computer and therefore the actual author of the Manuscript.

Furthermore I must call attention to the regular position of the differences 178 and 148. In the three periods of 1742 days the 178 always occupies the 6th place and in the periods of 1034 it is always in the 4th place. This difference appears, therefore, in groups 6, 14, 29, 37, 52 and 60, i. e., 8, 15, 8, 15 and 8 groups apart; but it is entirely lacking in the periods of 1210 days. And in all nine sections the 148 occupies the third place, i. e., directly in front of the pictures, which will be discussed immediately, therefore in groups 3, 13, 19, 26, 36, 42, 49, 59, 65, i. e., at intervals of 10, 6, 7, 10, 6, 7, 10 and 6 groups. But I must point out an error fraught with consequences. Groups 22 and 23 quite correctly have the difference 177, but in this single instance the scribe has written down 178 and hence has computed the three days belonging to it as VII Ix, VIII Men and IX Cib instead of VI Ben, VII Ix and VIII Men, and from here on to the close he is always one day in advance, so that on page 58 group 69 ends with the days X Cimi, XI Manik and XII Lamat, while it ought to have ended with IX Chiechan, X Cimi and XI Manik.

So much for the series. Vid. on this series my paper "Zwei Hieroglyphenreihen in der Dresdener Mayahandschrift" (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1905, numbers 2 and 3). Let us turn next to the ten pictures which are inserted in this series, three of which appear at the end of each period of 2920 days as on pages 46-50. Let us attempt to advance a step further in the darkness which still surrounds us here.

One of these pictures, the 8th, which is on page 56b, is in the wrong place, owing to the error in computation in Groups 58 and 59 to which I called attention above. It belongs not *before* but *after* group 59, the first on page 56b. This is indicated in the Manuscript itself. For in group 59 the two hieroglyphs, usually placed above each group, are missing and we find instead of them the sign resembling a snail, which is doubt-

less a very much emphasized zero (compare my "Erläuterungen," page 29), which indicates that the section designated by a picture closes with this group.

Having corrected this error we see that the ten pictures are on the following pages and come after the following numbers of the series:—

1.	53a	502
2.	55a	2244
3.	56a	3278
4.	57a	4488
5.	52b	6230
6.	53b	7264
7.	54b	8474
8.	56b	10216
9.	57b	11250
10.	58b	11958.

From this it follows that a picture is assigned to each of the nine sections composing the series. They are placed, however, not at the beginning or end of the section, but always after the expiration of 502 ( $= 2 \times 177 + 148$ ) days. The pictures are thus separated from one another by 1742, 1034 and 1210 days, which intervals correspond exactly to the length of the nine sections. But the last picture is separated from the preceding one by 708 days, and as it has a character quite its own, it must be discussed separately. But these 708 days with the 502 days of the beginning quite regularly amount to 1210 days, and the series is therefore to be considered as a recurring one.

Now these nine pictures might very easily be regarded as forming a new series, which is inserted in the original one and which has the day 502 as its zero-point. In that case, we shall have to subtract 502 every time from the days set down in the Manuscript. This new series may be represented thus:—

1.	53a	0
2.	55a	1742
3.	56a	2776
4.	57a	3986
5.	52b	5728

6.	53b	6762
7.	54b	7972
8.	56b	9714
9.	57b	10748.

It is certainly remarkable that the last number, 10748, corresponds so closely to the time of the revolution of Saturn, which is computed at 10753 days. For owing to the slowness of its progress, the Mayas may have known not only the apparent but also the actual revolution of Saturn. Besides the apparent revolution of Saturn (378 days from one superior conjunction to the next) could not be made to coincide very well with the length of the solar year. I will immediately present a further confirmation of my theory.

All these pictures have rectangles above them, of which I have spoken in my "Erläuterungen," page 16, and which always enclosed two or three hieroglyphs in which, with due hesitation, I assumed to be the signs of the sun, moon, and planets. This theory has as yet called forth no serious opposition.

Now in the passages just mentioned, I indicated the following figures as the signs of Saturn:—



or



These figures actually occur in all the nine pictures with the exception of the first, which has no rectangle at all, and where in true Maya fashion, the zero-point is concealed.

I go still further in my bold hypothesis. The time of the apparent revolution of Jupiter has been placed at 397 days. The Mayas, I think, computed it at 398 days. In the passage alluded to I regarded the following as the sign for Jupiter:—



We find these signs in pictures 4, 6, 7 and 9. The corresponding numbers reduced for the revolution of Saturn are

3986, 6762, 7972 and 10,748. I assume that the third picture, *i.e.*, the number 2776, is another zero-point, in consequence of which the sign is here suppressed, and that still another is the tenth picture with the number 11,958, which has no relation to the revolution of Saturn.

If we compare these numbers with the 398, *i.e.*, the apparent revolution of Jupiter, we have the following:—

3.  $2776 = 7 \times 398 - 10$
4.  $3986 = 10 \times 398 + 6$
6.  $6762 = 17 \times 398 - 4$
7.  $7972 = 20 \times 398 + 12$
9.  $10748 = 27 \times 398 + 2$
10.  $11958 = 30 \times 398 + 18$

The differences 10, 6, 4, 12, 2 and 18 are so small in comparison with 398, that the numbers 2776, etc., might very well have been regarded as approximate multiples of the revolution of Jupiter. And the remainders in the seventh and tenth pictures could be still further reduced. In the seventh picture, the first sign is very unusual and one which I do not remember having met with elsewhere. If it should be possible to regard it as the number of the thirteen week days, then it would follow (the Saturn sign being regarded as unimportant) that the contents of the rectangle meant:—  $13 +$  a multiple of 398, by which this remainder would be reduced to  $-1$ .

The tenth picture has the cross *b* as the beginning of the rectangle. This is the sign for union, very often denoting especially the union of all the twenty days. Thus we have here (aside from the middle sign to be discussed later) the formula:—  $20 + 30 \times 398 - 2 = 11,958$ , or even  $20 + 30 \times 398 = 11,960$ .

The regular progression from the 7th multiple to the 10th, 17th, 20th, 27th, and 30th multiples in the above six equations is also somewhat in favor of my theory, while the four rectangles without the Jupiter sign are by no means multiples of the Jupiter revolution:—

1.  $502 = 398 + 104$
2.  $1742 = 4 \times 398 + 150$
5.  $5728 = 14 \times 398 + 156$
8.  $9714 = 24 \times 398 + 162$

Let us now try to interpret the meaning of the remaining rectangles (always omitting the Saturn sign as a matter of course.)

In pictures 2 and 8 the rectangle also contains the sign of the moon or of the twenty days. Beside it in picture 2 is the sign, which in my "Erläuterungen," page 16, I regarded as the sign for Mercury. Hence we have here  $20 + 15 \times 115 = 1745$ , i.e., only 3 units more than the required 1742.

The rectangle with the eighth picture contains in addition to the moon a sign which looks as if it were intended for a whole divided into four parts. Until something better (perhaps the sign of Venus) is proposed, I will assume that it is the quarter of the Tonalamatl, i.e., 65, and I take the required number to be 9714 in the form of  $20 + 149 \times 65 + 9$ .

Above the third picture I see a Mercury and a Venus sign and I read  $584 + 19 \times 115 = 2769$ , which is only 7 units less than the required 2776.

The fifth picture still remains to be discussed, but I do not know how to unite the Mercury revolution here with the 5728. For the present, however, I am inclined to believe that there is a mistake in this passage.

We pass now from the obscure contents of the rectangles to the equally mysterious pictures themselves.

Aside from the tenth picture, I find human forms in four pictures.

Picture 1, page 53a, is the death-god (A) seated and pointing upward, an appropriate representation for the zero-point of the Saturn series, i.e., for the end of the preceding revolution.

Picture 2, page 55a, contains the head of a deity, probably D's with the suggestion of a beard and the sun-sign on his forehead. The head is surrounded by a ring striped black and white.

Picture 3, page 56a, is the head of B, again with a beard and with the sign Kin (sun) above. The head is surrounded by a design, the left part of which is black and the right white.

Picture 6, page 53b, represents a hanged woman, which Schellhas, "Göttergestalten," page 11, takes to be the Maya goddess Ixtab, the goddess of the halter, i.e., of the hanged.



The centre of picture 4 on page 57a, contains the suggestion of a face, perhaps in place of the Ahau sign, and on either side of it is a black and white surface.

It is further important to note that four times in this section Kin (sun) forms the centre of the picture, viz:— pictures 5, 7, 8 and 9, pages 52b, 54b, 56b and 57b. In all four cases there is on either side of Kin a black and white surface, such as we have already seen in picture 4 and similar to that in picture 3. Pictures 8 and 9 are vomited up, as it were, by a serpent placed below them, in the same way as B is represented on pages 34b and 35b. In pictures 5 and 8, four objects suggesting arrows extend from the Kin in four directions and probably denote the four cardinal points or the four Bacabs, of which we shall have more to say presently. Two of these arrow-like signs also appear in picture 7, page 54b, but only on the black and not on the white surface.

I will postpone discussing picture 10 until later and pass on to the hieroglyphs above the first nine pictures, about which it is true I have nothing satisfactory to say. There are always properly speaking ten of these hieroglyphs, among them the two signs for the sun and moon. But the scribe introduced the latter only in pictures 1-4, and also with the more elaborate last picture 10. With pictures 5 and 9 he omitted these signs in order to represent the other eight larger and with greater distinctness of detail. Among these hieroglyphs are several of gods, especially that of A with pictures 1, 5 and 9, and H with picture 5, and with pictures 1, 3, 5, 7, 8 and 9 there are other heads, some of them bird-heads, regarding which I am uncertain.

The Ben-Ik sign, to which I have assigned the meaning of a lunar month, belongs with pictures 4, 8 and 9 and occurs twice each with pictures 1 and 10.

I am inclined to see the sign for Mercury in the crouching figure belonging to pictures 9 and 10, which is drawn upside down and combined with the half Venus sign ( $11958 = 104 \times 115 - 2$ ).

Hands grasping a hieroglyph (a sign for 20 days?) are represented in pictures 1, 7, 8 and 10.

The enigmatical numbers, prefixed to the hieroglyphs, occur

several times, thus a 1 with pictures 1 and 10, and a 4 twice with picture 8 and a 6 with picture 3.

Now let us examine picture 10 somewhat in detail and also the signs standing above it, since both are of special significance here. This representation treats of the period of 11,960 days in which the Mercury and lunar revolutions meet. And this is proved by the ten hieroglyphs, which I will number as follows:—

1	6
2	7
3	8
4	9
5	10.

I can omit Signs 3 and 8, sun and moon, since they refer to a period of time only in a general way. Sign 1 seems to me, as I have already stated, to have reference to the revolutions of Mercury. Then follows sign 2, the upper part of which is a mat and the lower the Muluc sign. I believe this sign is intended to denote that the beginning of this period is in a Muluc year. Indeed, our examination of pages 51-52 showed that it was the year 6 Muluc. The mat (Pop) is very properly the symbol of beginning, since the first month of the year was likewise called Pop. Sign 7, it seems to me, indicates that this period should be divided into lunar months (denoted by Ben-Ik), and, as I have already demonstrated in my examination of page 24, the length of the period is stated here by Signs 4, 5, 6 and 9, but the dot before the fifth should be placed before the fourth, as is actually the case on page 24. Therefore:—

$$\begin{array}{r}
 4 = \quad 21 \\
 5 = \quad 7200 \\
 6 = \quad 4680 \\
 9 = \quad 59 \\
 \hline
 11960.
 \end{array}$$

It is perhaps not accidental that the ninth sign is that of the fourteenth month, which signifies the expiration of the preceding lunar month, for here the month begins with the first day of the fifteenth month.

Sign 10 is doubtless Xul = end, as it so often is, for example, on pages 61-62 below. But I have not solved the meaning of the two prefixes. The end would be XII Lamat 16 Yax (13 Ix).

The picture represents a human form, which has in place of a head a design somewhat resembling the head of a lance. It is sitting with legs spread apart, and in this respect may be compared with god B of Cort. 9, who is represented in the same way. In the picture before us, the figure holds in its upraised hands the sun and moon signs, which are constantly repeated throughout the series. The Venus sign is placed between the outspread legs. In the rectangle above the figure, this sign is repeated in a more concise form, while on the left the cross *b* appears as the sign of union or multiplication, and on the right that of Jupiter, whose period of revolution is here multiplied by 30 ( $30 \times 398 = 11,940$ ). And the two Venus signs can mean nothing more than that this period of 11,960 also serves the purpose of filling up the gap between the two large Venus-solar periods of 37,960 days, like the similar process which we saw on pages 46-50.

We have examined first the series and then the pictures with the hieroglyphs belonging to them. Let us pass now, as the third step, to the examination of the two rows of hieroglyphs extending above the numbers throughout the whole section. First of all, I will again set down here the position of each of the sixty-nine groups:—

Page 51.	52.	53.	54.
31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36.	37. 38. 39. 40.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.	7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13.
		41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46.	47. 48. 49. 50.

Page 55.	56.	57.	58.
14. 15. 16. 17. 18.	19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26.	27. 28. 29. 30.	
51. 52. 53. 54. 56.	57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67.	68. 69.	

Since each group contains two hieroglyphs, this makes 138. in all. Of these, however, about 24 on the upper halves of the pages, are wholly or almost wholly effaced which very materially hinders the trustworthy determination of the context

Furthermore group 59 is entirely lacking or rather group 58, in the place of which the 59th has been set down. The eighth

picture was probably already drawn, when the artist saw that there was not room enough left for the 58th and 59th groups. Hence he omitted the 58th, setting down in place of it the 59th and in the place of the latter he set down the zero mentioned above.

The question now arises:— Are these hieroglyphs dependent upon the days and numbers of the series and upon the pictures, or are they entirely independent of them?

I find but *one* point in favor of the first possibility, viz:— the Venus sign in group 4b (I will designate the upper hieroglyphs by *a* and the lower by *b*). It is placed in the period indicated in which 502–679 days elapse, and in which, therefore, Venus has finished a revolution of 584 days. It may be, that by way of exception, this significant date was intentionally recorded.

On the other hand, there are many things, which favor an entirely different interpretation of these hieroglyphs. Thus I am of the opinion that the ritual year of 364 days with its four Bacab periods of 91 days each is referred to here, as we have already found it referred to on pages 31a–32a and on page 45a, and shall find it again on pages 65–69 and 71–73. In that case the single groups would be separated from one another by one Maya week = 13 days.

I will now arrange the sixty-nine groups in the following order (the reason for which will become clear directly):—

I	4	11	18	25	32	39	46	53	60	67
II	5	12	19	26	33	40	47	54	61	68
III	6	13	20	27	34	41	48	55	62	69
IV	7	14	21	28	35	42	49	56	63	1
V	8	15	22	29	36	43	50	57	64	2
VI	9	16	23	30	37	44	51	58	65	3
VII	10	17	24	31	38	45	52	59	66.	

The groups in a horizontal row are separated from one another by 7 or a multiple of 7. If now a hieroglyph is repeated in those places, which are in the same horizontal row, then this is a confirmation of the supposition that Bacab periods are meant to be represented here. Hence I will examine each row in turn. These rows extend over the long period of  $69 \times 13$  days probably merely for the purpose of filling up the space.

I. In 39b, 46b, 53b and 60b, *i.e.*, after every seven groups, perhaps also in 18b, we find the following sign, which I identified as that of a Bacab, in *Globus*, Vol. LXXI:—



Hence this denotes the beginning of the Bacab period. In 4b the sign is replaced by that for Venus. In 11b, 25b, 32b and 67b we find other signs, it is true, nevertheless the regularity stated above cannot be accidental. The upper signs of groups 39a, 46a, 53a and 60a contain an Imix and corroborate the connection.

II. 5b and 26b (after  $3 \times 91$  days) contain a head very like the preceding, which readily suggests the idea that it is merely a Bacab sign pushed one group ahead, but it also appears in 13b, 50b and 52b.

Then 12b, 54b and 61b correspond, *i.e.*, after six groups of 91 days and one more of the same length, but the same sign appears also in 34b, 48b and 56b.

III. 41b and 69a are Xul = end and are therefore separated by  $28 \times 13 = 4 \times 91$  days, *i.e.*, the length of a year. It is singular that both signs of 41 are like those of 47; if we assume that 47 was set down one group too soon, it would be in excellent keeping with the rest. The Xul also appears in 11b and 28b. 34b and 48b correspond after  $2 \times 91$  days, as already mentioned under II.

IV. 42a and 49b both contain the sign for the sun between clouds.

V. 36b and 57b agree after  $3 \times 91$  days; the same sign appears again in 10b and 20b.

15a and 36a correspond after  $3 \times 91$  days; we shall continue the examination of this sign under pages 71-73.

VI. 37a and 65a agree, *i.e.*, after  $4 \times 91$  days = a year. The sign contains a human figure stretching both arms aloft. The passing of a year was likewise indicated in III, but a year coming 52 days later than this.

VII. 10a and 31a agree, *i.e.*, after  $3 \times 91$  days. The sign is composed of the crouching figure prefixed to the cross, which we also find in 12b, 35a and 65b; it is prefixed to a different hieroglyph in 30a. In 38b, 52b and 59b (58 in the Manuscript) we see bird-like heads resembling the Bacab sign. We should expect to find a familiar sign in 45, which is drawn between these, but a Moan appears there instead. These signs seem to indicate the end of the Bacab period. Does the Moan sign here, too, suggest the end of the year?

In 38a, 52a and 59a we again see an Imix, and I consider it a corroboration of my theory that all the four signs of groups 38 and 39 are repeated in 52 and 53 after  $2 \times 91$  days.

I believe a further corroboration is the fact that though many of these hieroglyphs have no connection with these periods of  $7 \times 13$ , *i.e.*, with the divisions of the ritual year, they do correspond with the usual divisions of the Tonalamatl, *i.e.*,  $4 \times 13$  and  $5 \times 13$  days.

After  $4 \times 13$  or a multiple of it the signs recur in 20b, 24b, 40b, 44b-12b, 48b, 56b-16b, 32b, 64b-26b, 50b-10a, 30a-37a, 65a-15b, 51b-11b and 47b.

As examples of  $5 \times 13$  I would mention 3b, 63b-10a, 20a, 30a-5b, 50b-24b, 29b-35b, 65b-15b, 20b, 40b.

Finally, I must mention two more hieroglyphs, which are limited almost entirely to these pages:—



In the first sign, which occurred on page 10a, I thought I recognized the lunar month of 28 days. It occurs in this section in connection with the third picture on page 56, and besides in the following groups of hieroglyphs:—16b, 32b and 64b, always combined with a Yax. The regularity of the intervals is striking, but as yet I can neither explain that, nor the crouching personage (Mercury?) in the 10th, 20th and 30th groups and again in the next, the 31st.

The second sign is found *only* on these pages and here not less than eleven times, possibly with the addition of the

effaced sign in 6b and 27b which may have been the same hieroglyph. The eleven places in which it occurs are as follows:—3b, 15b, 17b, 23b, 24b, 29b, 40b, 44b, 49a, 51b and 63b. Two different prefixes are added to it; one in the first two and the last two places and also in the last but two joined with Kin, and the other in the six middle places. Of the eleven groups, 17 and 24, 44 and 51 are 7 groups apart. 3 and 17, 15 and 29, 49 and 63 are 14 groups apart, 23 and 44 are 21 groups apart, and hence 23 and 51 are separated by 28 groups or 1 year. Group 40 alone is not concerned with these intervals of seven or multiples of seven.

Now, how far may all these periods of time be due to accident and how far to design? Accident *alone* is quite out of the question. The frequent repetition of the sun-sign in groups 49, 50 and 51 on pages 54b and 55b, seems to me to refer to the conjunctions of the sun with certain stars, which occur at intervals of thirteen days.

### Pages 58—59.

This section is also based on a series occupying the whole of page 59, which contains nothing but number and day signs. This series has the difference 78, which we found once before on page 44. There the starting-point was III Lamat, here it is the day XIII Muluc, probably coming in the year XIII Muluc, as in Cort. 40b, as I shall have occasion to suggest later. The series extends, with the usual errors and variations, in four divisions from top to bottom. The days, which are always two days behindhand, owing to the number 78, in 780 again reach the day XIII Muluc, at which point the succeeding members remain stationary, since from here on the difference is always 780 or a multiple of it. 780 days are, however, the apparent time of the revolution of Mars, which is the only planet now left to be discussed, the subject of pages 46–50 having been Venus and the sun, and of pages 51–58, Mercury and the moon with incidental treatment of Saturn and Jupiter. With 780 as its difference, the series ascends to  $19 \times 780 = 14,820$ , and then continues with this large number as its difference until the series is lost in the effaced passages.

Curiously enough, however, directly under the line containing the 14,820, there is a new series composed of nine members, or ten counting the suppressed starting-point. But this starting-point is again the day IX Ik, the difference, as proved by the annexed days, is again 78 and the series ends with 780. Thus the starting-point is the only difference between the two series. The principal series contains all the even and the secondary series all the uneven days. Can the starting-point of the revolution of Mars have been determined according to different principles? Is it possible that in one case the beginning of the planet's retrogression was adopted as the starting-point, and in the other case the date on which the planet, after completing its retrograde course, again reached the degree of right ascension at which it had begun its retrogression? This is a difficult matter to decide, since the period of the retrogression of Mars fluctuates between 62 and 81 days. The interval from IX Ik to XIII Muluc is 147 and in reversed order 113 days.

It can hardly be assumed that the 19 of the IX 19 or IX Ik is connected with the  $19 \times 780$  mentioned above or with the  $19 + 19 + 19 + 21$  into which the 78 is divided on pages 44-45, or finally with the 19, which four times forms the principal part of the sub-divisions of 65 on pages 33-34.

Numbers amounting to millions accompany this series in the usual way. Two of these are on page 58, viz:—1,426,360 and 1,386,580; but with the sign of the sixth day, which is important here, between them. Below these numbers, however, are two month dates:—first the normal date IV Ahau 8 Cumhu and, if I have correctly restored the effaced number before the month sign, which in its turn is indistinct, the second is XIII Muluc 2 Zac, which would fall in the year VIII Muluc. The encircled numbers also occur here. They are set down beside the lower number of seven figures. We find here a red 12 with a black 1 inserted, below this a black 7 and below this again, enclosed in a red band, a black 11, which I regard as also representing the value of a red number. We shall find a similar instance among the serpent numerals. Then we have here 1. 7. 11. = 511 and 12. 11. = 251. But  $511 = 260 + 251$  and 251 is the interval between XIII Muluc and IV Ahau.



With the day XIII Muluc and the interval 9 between IV Ahau and XIII Muluc, numbers for XIII Muluc have been formed amounting to millions, which, however, have been suppressed in the Manuscript, just as they were on page 31 where, in like manner, numbers were first formed for day XIII Akbal.

I assume that to begin with, 76 Tonalamatls ( $= 19,760$ ) were added to this 9 and then 228 Tonalamatls ( $= 59,280$ ), the 228 being  $= 3 \times 76$  and the 59,280 including 76 revolutions of Mars.

The result in one case was 19,769 and in the other 59,289. If the 12 Ahau-Katuns, which are specified as 1,366,560 on page 24b be added here, we have the following numbers:—

$$1,386,329 = \text{XIII Muluc } 2 \text{ Mol (3 Muluc),}$$

$$1,425,849 = \text{XIII Muluc } 2 \text{ Zip (12 Muluc),}$$

and if the two encircled numbers of the Manuscript:— 251 and 511 be added, the sums are 1,386,580 and 1,426,360, i. e., the two large numbers of the Manuscript.

The dates corresponding to these numbers are as follows:—

$$1,386,580 = \text{IV Ahau } 13 \text{ Muan (12 Muluc),}$$

$$1,426,360 = \text{IV Ahau } 8 \text{ Muan (4 Ix).}$$

If we compare the two numbers with the normal date, the curious result follows that:—

$$1) \quad 1,386,580 - 1,366,560 = 20,020.$$

This number is equal to  $55 \times 364$ , including therefore the ritual year of 364 days.

$$2) \quad 1,426,360 - 1,366,560 = 59,800.$$

This number is five times 11,960 days, which is assumed to be the time in which the lunar and Mercury revolutions accord. This 59,800 was found once before on page 24 as the suppressed difference between 68,900 and 9,100.

Thus the separate sections (of the book) are very closely connected.

If the two large numbers be compared with one another their difference will be found to be 39,780. This is equal first to 51 Mars revolutions of 780 days, and second to  $4420 \times 9$ , i. e., a multiple of the interval between IV Ahau and XIII Muluc.

Now we must direct our attention to the seventeen hieroglyphs, which we find in the two columns on page 58, apart from the matter-of-course calendar date at the top, which is repeated

at the bottom. One column contains 11 hieroglyphs and the other 6. I will here advance the following theory in regard to these hieroglyphs, which may serve until a better is found:—

Since, as a rule, the Tonalamatl is divided into  $5 \times 52$  days, I believe that each group of three Tonalamatls treated of on page 59, is divided into 15 of these parts; that each hieroglyph, therefore, denotes 52 days and that the first three parts are separated from the others by the signs of beginning and end in the first and fifth places, so that three of these parts, which equal 156 days, always form a separate group. 156 is the 5th part of 780. With the omission of the first and fifth signs, the passage, I think, stands thus:—

	0 XIII Muluc	2 Kankin (13 Muluc).
1)	0—52 XIII Imix	14 Pax.
2)	53—104 XIII Ben	1 Pop (1 Ix).
3)	105—156 XIII Chicchan	13 Zip.
4)	157—208 XIII Caban	5 Xul.
5)	209—260 XIII Muluc	17 Mol.
6)	261—312 XIII Imix	9 Zac.
7)	313—364 XIII Ben	1 Kankin.
8)	365—416 XIII Chicchan	13 Pax.
9)	417—468 XIII Caban	25 Cumhu.
10)	469—520 XIII Muluc	12 Zip (2 Cauac).
11)	521—572 XIII Imix	4 Xul.
12)	573—624 XIII Ben	16 Mol.
13)	625—676 XIII Chicchan	8 Zac.
14)	677—728 XIII Caban	20 Mac.
15)	729—780 XIII Muluc	12 Pax.

If we adopt this arrangement for the present we cannot fail to see that the author had an aim in view, when we consider the following:—

1. The zero-point lies 15,609 days later than the normal date IV Ahau 8 Cumhu (9 Ix). This is equal to  $20 \times 780$  or  $60 \times 260$  increased by the interval between IV Ahau and XIII Muluc = 9. There are 86 days between 2 Kankin and 8 Cumhu *i. e.*,  $15,609 = 43 \times 365 - 86$ , and from 9 Ix to 13 Muluc it is 43 years.

2. The same zero-point, 13 Muluc, lies in the year with the same name, that is, the very point where a Tonalamatl of the year ends.

3. In this arrangement the first as well as the last day of the year 1 Ix is exactly reached in the second and ninth groups. While the meaning of the second is as yet unintelligible to me, the end of the year is appropriately indicated by the ninth with its compound of Kin and the year-sign, above which there may be an Ix as a superfix, but misshapen for want of room.

4. Also the fact that it is the first of the two columns, which closes with this year-end, seems to show a purpose.

5. Several instances of similarity appear among the hieroglyphs in these groups of three:—an Akbal sign in 1 and 4 suggests the god D, the superfix and prefix of 2 and 14 the god K and 5 and 11 the screech-owl and therefore A.

Little else is to be said of these hieroglyphs.

C might be denoted by 3 (13 Zip) and 10 (12 Zip). Group 8, the central point of the series, has on the left and right the signs for the north and south as if the time between the north (Muluc) years and the south (Cauac) years were meant to be indicated here.

I am inclined to consider the crouching personage in 12 as the revolution of Mercury, which requires 115 days:— $573$  is  $5 \times 114 + 3$  or  $5 \times 115 - 2$ .

Is 7 a sign, as yet unknown, for the year of 364 days?

15 looks like two signs for the month Mac, placed back to back, which here designates the Tonalamatl as it does on page 24. The superfix of three parts might denote three Tonalamatls = 780 days. The familiar sign in the fifth place in connection with the expiration of the first Tonalamatl is striking; it is the one usually identified as that of the screech-owl or death-bird.

## Page 60.

This is the last page of the front of the second part and is divided into four sections:—at the top we find hieroglyphs, below these a picture, then hieroglyphs again and in the lowest section another picture.

The upper picture contains first a rectangular elevation like a platform. Enclosed in this rectangle is the picture of the animal resembling a dog lying down, which we have often met with, the last time on page 47. In front of the dog is a hieroglyph, which, I regret to say, is still unknown and which occurred six times as a heading on page 23b. On the platform two personages are fighting; one is in war-dress holding in his left hand the throwing-stick or atlatl, and in his right probably arrows; the other figure, whose back is somewhat indistinct owing to obliteration, is apparently unarmed and is making a defensive gesture with one hand. Beside the platform, and therefore on a lower level, is a second person walking behind the armed person as if to help him. He too is in war-dress and likewise holds an atlatl. A black 3 is set down between the two combatants, and there may also have been a red 2, which is indistinct owing to the red background of the picture.

Let us next examine the lower picture. A blindfolded personage is kneeling on the left. A serpent's head rises from the ground in front of him. A second serpent rises in several coils on the shoulders of the blindfolded personage and on the serpent's neck sits enthroned another personage, who is rather indistinct, holding a spear and a shield. On the right, opposite this group and facing it, is a second. A personage with arms bound and bowed head is sitting on the ground. There is a black ring around his eye. Behind him stands the victor in war-dress and again equipped with spear and shield. There is a red 11 and a black 2 between the two groups.

We see that the reference here is to combat, just as it was on the right side of pages 46-50. And since the subject of these pages like that of 46-59 is confined to the revolutions of the planets, it is natural that the pursuit of one by the other, their periodical disappearance, the crossing of their orbits and the variation in the length of their revolutions should be looked upon as a contest. Therefore, since the sun, the moon and the five planets have hitherto been treated of on these pages, I look for these seven heavenly bodies in the seven personages pictured here on page 60. I will attempt to explain them, hoping that my interpretation may be replaced by a better one.

The sun and moon stand on the platform in the upper picture; their combat is equivalent to the eclipses to which they at times succumb. The moon is the assailant and the sun makes only a proud defensive gesture. The person behind the moon must be Mars. The animal under the two persons is the embodiment of the eclipses, which the Aztecs interpreted as the act of being devoured by the jaguar. The hieroglyph in front looks very much like the meeting of two circles. Does it refer to the day *Lamat* (Aztec *tochtli* = rabbit)?

At the left, bottom, the powerful Venus triumphs over the weak Mercury. The two planets are real chronometers by reason of the regular alternation of their appearance as morning and evening stars, and also by their disappearance twice in each revolution and finally even in the variation in the length of the two periods of invisibility. Hence they are each accompanied by a serpent as the usual symbol of time.

On the right, on the other hand, Jupiter as the stronger has vanquished Saturn, whose bound arms symbolize his slowness of motion and the fact that he is confined to the same region of the sky. Should not the ring around his eye have a very special meaning? But we must guard against an excess of imagination. Jupiter and Saturn are the last to be represented, as they were of but secondary importance, on pages 51-58 and perhaps also in the 2200 on page 24.

I will not deny that yet another interpretation of this page is possible. The top picture may be Venus and the moon opposing one another, and the bottom picture may represent the sun as victor over Mercury. There are some things in favor of this point of view.

The correct order of the twenty-four hieroglyphs is the following, in my opinion, which is borne out by the different colors of the four groups:—

1	2	7	8
3	4	9	10
5	6	11	12
13	14	19	20
15	16	21	22
17	18	23	24

These signs can have no relation to mythology. There is not a hieroglyph of a god among them, for if sign 6 could be taken for B's hieroglyph, the resemblance to the sign of the fist, familiar from the inscriptions, as well as the Imix and the cross-hatching as a prefix, makes this doubtful. The latter component would rather suggest the summer solstice. If sign 12 were intended to denote the Bacab, then it would refer to chronology rather than to mythology. Also the Cimi in 17 might equally well mean the day as the god. Indeed several things refer here to chronology and astronomy, among them the unmistakable union of numbers and month signs, which occur here repeatedly. Thus from what remains of the almost obliterated signs 1 and 2, they might denote the normal date IV Ahau 8 Cumhu, which always occupies the first place. Signs 7 and 20 are plainly the same, 9 Xul (sixth month) and sign 14 is 10 Yaxkin (seventh month). Sign 5 might be Caban combined with Uo (second month) and a ten. In sign 19 we again see Yaxkin without a number. Signs 9 and 23 are Zec (fifth month) and signs 21 and 22 may be Kankin (fourteenth month). The days occur in the same manner as the months. It is true that Kin is only a part of hieroglyph 10, the rest of which is effaced, but the familiar compound of Caban and Muluc appears in 18 and 24 and Cimi is in 17, as we have seen. In sign 13, Ahau is combined with a red number, which must lie between X and XV. But this should not be regarded as forming a calendar date with the 10 Yaxkin near by, for Ahau is never the tenth day of a month. Can 16 be the sign of the twelfth month, Ceh, combined with that for 7200? Hieroglyphs 3 and 8 are effaced and I do not understand 4, 11 and 15.

There are no parallels in the kindred passages 46-50, unless it be 7 Zec on the bottom of page 49 and here in signs 9 and 23, but without a number. Cf. my paper on this page 60 in the "Weltall," year 6, pages 251-257.

#### Page 61—64.

On examining the reverse of the second part of our Manuscript, *i.e.*, pages 61-74, we find an empty page on the left, the back of which is occupied by page 60. This may be explained by assuming that the scribe wrote pages 61-64 and possibly

even pages 61-74 from right to left, the great series having occasioned such a proceeding, and that his material came to an end when he had finished page 61. Nevertheless, it is advisable to continue with the original numbering in order to avoid confusion.

Aside from the concluding (or beginning) page 74, this whole section of pages 61-74 consists of three parts: — 61-64, 65-69 and 70-73. Let us first consider the first section, which I have already discussed in my treatise "*Zur Erläuterung der Maya-handschriften II.*"

The basis of this section is a series, the beginning of which is on the bottom, right, of page 64. Its primary difference is always that which we found on pages 31-32, viz: — the Bacab period of 91 days, the quarter of the ritual year of 364 days = 7 weeks of 13 days each. It ascends by 91 until it reaches 1820, which number is a multiple of both 364 and 260 and is also divisible by 28, the number of weeks in a year. Just as on page 32 the series continues with the new difference 1820 as far as 7280, its fourth multiple, which then becomes the third difference. Indeed, I believe that even the partially effaced numbers could be so restored as to carry the series to the number  $36,400 = 400 \times 91$ , which would then become the fourth difference and the series would close at the top of page 63 with  $145,600 = 1600 \times 91$ , i. e., with the numbers 1. 0. 4. 8. 0. of which the 1 is entirely and the 0 half effaced. The series on pages 31-32, however, closed with  $29,120 = 320 \times 91$ , but there is still room for a higher series.

Under this largest number ( $1600 \times 91$ ) there is on page 63 a large red number consisting of 19. 0. 4. 4. which is crowded into a very small space between the figures of 1820. I can only understand it by replacing the first 4 by a 3, for then it is  $136,864 = 1504 \times 91$  or by addition of a zero. We shall return to this number in the examination of the serpent numerals.

The series is accompanied in the regular way by five days. At the beginning of this series, page 64, right bottom, are the days III Cib, III Men, III Chicchan, III Caban and XIII Ix; the III is set down only with the first of these days and is to be

supplied with the next three. Hence the actual zero point is to be found 91 days back in the days III Chicchan, III Kan, III Ix, III Cimi and XIII Akbal, the last of which is also the beginning of the corresponding series on page 32. From 1820 on, these last-named days, of course unchanged, accompany the numbers. The most important of these days are the first and last, but we shall see later in connection with the serpent numbers that the other three, which are separated from one another by 39, 130 and 52, *i.e.*,  $3 \times 13$ ,  $10 \times 13$  and  $4 \times 13$ , are likewise not set down here by mere accident.

We come now to the five columns, three on page 63 and two on page 62, which join this series on the left. They contain the large numbers, which invariably accompany these series. Here there are six numbers, four of which, in my opinion, refer to the past and two to the future. Two of these numbers, the two largest, are set down together in the third column on page 63, one with red numbers and the other with black. Of these black numbers, I take the second from the top to be not 8 but 13, assuming that a line is omitted. The normal date IV Ahau 8 Cumhu from which, as the starting-point, all these numbers are to be computed, is set down below at the end of each of the five columns.

I now give the six numbers, first the two highest, then the other four from right to left, adding in each case the calendar date and the year in which they should be situated:—

- 1,538,342; IV Ik 15 Zac (12 Muluc).
- 1,535,004; VII Kan 2 Chen (3 Kan).
- 1,268,540; IV Ahau 8 Mol (1 Ix).
- 1,234,220; IV Ahau 18 Kayab (11 Kan).
- 1,272,544; IV Kan 17 Yaxkin (12 Muluc).
- 1,272,921; IV Imix 9 Mol (13 Ix).

The first, third and fifth numbers are already known from page 31a, and hence they need no further discussion here.

As these three numbers depend on the day XIII Akbal, so the other three all proceed from the day III Chicchan in the following positions, which are again suppressed in the Manuscript:—



1,483,585 = III Chicchan 8 Zac (5 Cauac).

1,233,985 = III Chicchan 8 Kankin (10 Cauac).

1,272,465 = III Chicchan 18 Zip (12 Muluc).

The second date in the manuscript is 13 Kankin and the third is 13 Zip; hence there is one line too many in the former number and one too few in the latter. While on page 31a the origin of the numbers belonging to the day XIII Akbal seems to be quite clear, here their relation to one another is entirely concealed. I must, therefore, refrain from expressing any conjecture in regard to them.

Now the numbers set down in the Manuscript are formed only by the addition of the encircled numbers also found there. The encircled number for the first expressed number is 51,419, which is the same number we found with the corresponding day XIII Akbal; the second has 235 and the third  $456 = 260 + 196$ . The 51,419 was  $197 \times 260 + 199$ ; but 199 is the interval from III Chicchan to VII Kan, just as it is from XIII Akbal to IV Ik. The 235 is the interval between III Chicchan and IV Ahau and the 196 that from III Chicchan and IV Imix.

By the addition of these differences, the numbers written out in the Manuscript are obtained:—

$1,483,585 + 51,419 = 1,535,004$  (VII Kan).

$1,233,985 + 235 = 1,234,220$  (IV Ahau).

$1,272,465 + 456 = 1,272,921$  (IV Imix).

Keeping in mind what was said in reference to page 31a, let us now examine the six numbers and dates collectively.

The fact that the days IV Ahau and XIII Akbal occur here and consequently also III Chicchan is not surprising. Nor is the choice of VII Kan and IV Ik an accident, for the interval between these days is exactly the same as that between III Chicchan and XIII Akbal, viz:— 218 days.

Hence the distance from III Chicchan to VII Kan is also exactly equal to that between XIII Akbal to IV Ik, viz:—199 days.

Finally, the distance from VII Kan to III Chicchan is exactly equal to that between IV Ik and XIII Akbal, viz:— 61 days.

IV Imix and IV Kan are separated from the normal date IV Ahau by  $3 \times 13 = 39$  and  $8 \times 13 = 104$  days.

Regarding the encircled numbers, so far as they are independent of 260, I would note the following:—

17 = XIII Akbal to IV Ahau.

121 = XIII Akbal to IV Kan.

196 = III Chicchan to IV Imix.

199 = III Chicchan to VII Kan and XIII Akbal to IV Ik.

235 = III Chicchan to IV Ahau.

In addition let me remark that 36 = VII Kan to IV Ahau, 39 = IV Imix to IV Ahau and 104 = IV Ahau to IV Kan.

The following arrangement will prove that these numbers were as usual also employed to form the large numbers by multiplication:—

$$17 \times 74,620 = 1,268,540 \text{ (IV Ahau),}$$

$$235 \times 5,252 = 1,234,220 \text{ (IV Ahau),}$$

$$36 \times 42,639 = 1,535,004 \text{ (VII Kan),}$$

$$39 \times 32,639 = 1,272,921 \text{ (IV Imix),}$$

$$104 \times 12,236 = 1,272,544 \text{ (IV Kan).}$$

But the highest number, 1,538,342, was formed in a different way; it =  $59,167 \times 26$ ; but the interval from IV Ahau to IV Ik =  $182 = 7 \times 26$ , and from IV Ik to IV Ahau =  $78 = 3 \times 26$ .

If in conclusion, we now examine the twelve numbers of seven figures given in this section, we will clearly see that by twos and twos they plainly belong together in pairs:—

The three pairs of numbers found by computation are as follows:—

1,486,923, XIII Akbal.

1,483,585, III Chicchan.

Difference  $3338 = 12 \times 260 + 218$  (VII Kan to IV Ik, III Chicchan to XIII Akbal).

1,268,523, XIII Akbal.

1,233,985, III Chicchan.

Difference  $34,538 = 132 \times 260 + 218$  (as above).

1,272,423, XIII Akbal.

1,272,465, III Chicchan.

Difference 42 (which is  $260 - 218$ );  $42 =$  IV Kan to IV Imix.

On the other hand the three pairs specified in the Manuscript are as follows:—

1,538,342, IV Ik.

1,535,004, VII Kan.

Difference 3338 =  $12 \times 260 + 218$  as above, by reason of the encircled number 51,419 which is common to both numbers.

1,268,540, IV Ahau.

1,234,220, IV Ahau.

Difference 34,320 =  $132 \times 260$ , on account of the same day.

1,272,544, IV Kan.

1,272,921, IV Imix.

Difference 117 = IV Kan to IV Imix; strictly speaking  $377 = 260 + 117$ .

The upper part of the five columns just now under discussion still remains to be examined. Here are five vertical rows of hieroglyphs, the first four each containing seven, and the fifth only six owing to lack of space.

The two rows at the top are as usual much obliterated, which is the more to be deplored since they consisted of five calendar dates, which would have contributed materially to the comprehension of the entire section. Fortunately, however, one of these dates is preserved complete, and we are able to see in what relation it stands to the rest. Thus we find in the third column of page 63 the date XIII Imix 9 Uo. It comes in the year 12 Ix and represents the number 1,523,921 (or a number separated from it by a multiple of 18,980). Now  $1,523,921 = 4175 \times 365 + 46$  and  $= 5861 \times 260 + 61$ . This agrees with the lower number inserted in red:—1,538,342 = IV Ik 15 Zac (12 Muluc), which comes later by  $14,421 = 39 \times 365 + 186$  and  $= 55 \times 260 + 121$ . 121, however, is the difference between both XIII Imix and IV Ik and the days XIII Akbal and IV Kan in the last column of page 62. If we set down with these two numbers, those of the normal date just preceding and the normal date next following, we have

1,518,400 =  $80 \times 18980$ .

1,523,921,

1,538,342,

1,556,360. =  $82 \times 18980$ .

This is a period of  $37,960 = 2 \times 18,980$  days. It is possible that at some future time an indication of such a transition from

one Katun to the other will be found in the writings. Now these two top lines contain two dates; on page 62 we find 13 Ceh. and on page 63, 13 Xul, but nothing further is to be learned from this than that one or the other of the day-signs, 2,7,12,17, must have been set down in the effaced indication of the position in the Tonalamatl. All else is obliterated. From the third to the seventh row of these five columns it is all extremely simple. The third row consists only of five signs for beginning, the fourth, of five for end, the sixth of B's sign five times and the seventh of the elongated head *q* four times. But in the fifth, two deities alternate, one is apparently male and the other female; the god is in columns 1, 3 and 5 and the goddess in 2 and 4; the god probably belonging to the days III Chicchan and the goddess to XIII Akbal.

If we look upon this series as the first story of a structure and the large numbers just now discussed as the second, then we find the third story here, as we shall find it again on page 69. In the passage on page 31, which is so closely related to the present one, a timid attempt has already been made with the number 2,804,100 to erect a third story of this kind, which however barely attained to a quarter of the height of the one which now engages our attention. If the numbers hitherto examined refer to a time not very far from the present, we now come to numbers which lie in so remote a future that they can hardly suggest anything else than the destruction of the world or a sort of twilight of the gods. Nevertheless the starting-point of the whole, the series, which is built up with the number 91, i.e., the Bacab period or the quarter of a ritual year, continually comes to view. Indeed, the number of serpents is suggestive of this.

There are four large serpents, which fill most of the space on the left half of page 62 and the right of page 61. The two outer ones are bluish and the two inner ones white. They rise in several coils, their tails below and their heads above. A deity is represented above the gaping jaws of each of the four serpents, having apparently been vomited up. Above the first and third serpents B is represented in a fashion very similar to that which we have already seen on pages 33-35. Above the first serpent B has the pouch hanging from his neck and his hatchet is held

downward; above the third he wears the pouch and the gala mantle and his hatchet is raised. Above the second and fourth serpents, on the other hand, there are four-footed animals, but of a species not represented elsewhere. They might suggest a (four-footed?) walrus and a bear. We have here a double contrast, apparently referring to the four cardinal points.

The veil enveloping this representation would be lifted to a considerable extent, if all the eight hieroglyphs written above each serpent, were still legible. But, unfortunately, the second group is wholly and the third almost wholly effaced, while the first is partially effaced and only the fourth is preserved in its entirety. I read these groups in the following order:—

1	2
3	4
5	6
7	8.

Of these 7 and 8 in the first and fourth groups form the date IX Kan 12 Kayab, which is in the year 4 IX; this same date probably occurred also in the other two groups. That it is of special importance here, is shown by the two columns of hieroglyphs on the left side of page 61, where this date occurs again in the lowest place. The last three large numbers are not computed from the normal date IV Ahau 8 Cumhu, but from this very date and the other five from a similar one. The sixth hieroglyph in the first group seems to correspond to the fifth in the fourth, since both contain the elongated head *q*, though with different accompaniments.

In the first group the fourth hieroglyph is the Bacab sign familiar to us from pages 51–58, suggesting that the series here is closely connected with the one which had the difference 91. The fifth sign of the same group is that for *beginning*, probably to confirm the fact that this section begins here. The third sign of the first group is probably an Imix, as it is in the first and fourth of the fourth group, combined here with the woman's head, which we saw repeated on pages 62 and 63 at the top; and over it in the second place of the fourth group is B's hieroglyph, which

is also repeated on pages 62 and 63 at the top. The third place of the fourth group is occupied by a head, which may be C's and which is distinguished by the same kind of circle which on page 9b surrounded the Ahau.

Eight complete dates are set down below the serpents, among which are the XIII Akbal already found with the previous large numbers, and III Chicchan (repeated three times), and then III Kan (twice), forming the beginning and end of the series (page 64), and also III Cimi and III Ix. As we shall see directly these are the end dates of the large numbers, and Xul = end repeated eight times at the extreme bottom corresponds with this. On the other hand, the starting-points must be found by computation, with the exception of the date IX Kan 12 Kayab, which is actually written down and is the point of departure for three of the numbers.

I will designate the black numbers by *a* and the red by *b*. Seven of the eight numbers are undoubtedly absolutely correct; but I must alter the number 1b, the red number belonging to the first serpent. I assume that a line is wanting in the lowest figure, i. e., it should be 8 instead of 3, and that the conspicuously large 1 further down on the page serves also as the red number, which belongs here. Only one slight change is necessary in the dates on the bottom of the pages, which were mentioned above. To the 16 in the date 4b I add a dot, and read it 17.

I will now give a table of the numbers, the starting-points of the periods obtained by computation, and the ends of the latter which are indicated below the serpents:—

- 1a: 12,489,781; XI Kan 12 Kankin (1 Ix); III Chicchan 18 Xul (4 Muluc).  
 1b: 12,388,121; XI Kan 12 Muan (7 Ix); III Chicchan 13 Pax (4 Ix).  
 2a: 12,454,761; IX Kan 7 Kankin (4 Cauac); III Chicchan 13 Yaxkin (2 Ix).  
 2b: 12,394,740; IX Kan 2 Chen (5 Kan); III Kan 12 Ceh (7 Ix).  
 3a: 12,438,810; IX Kan 12 Xul (3 Ix); III Ix 7 Zec (9 Muluc).  
 3b: 12,466,942; IX Kan 12 Kayab (4 Ix); III Cimi 14 Kayab (9 Ix).  
 4a: 12,454,459; IX Kan 12 Kayab (4 Ix); XIII Akbal 1 Kankin (1 Kan).  
 4b: 12,394,740; IX Kan 12 Kayab (4 Ix); III Kan 17 Uo (7 Muluc).

See my treatise, "Die Schlangenzahlen in der Dresdener Maya-handchrift" (Weltall, year 5, pages 199-203).

Several details show how this number-structure forms a definite, closely connected whole.

1. The beginning day in each case is the day Kan, which thereby indicates its position as the first.

2. The last three starting-points are the same; the first three end dates, at least, are the same in the Tonalamatl, though not in the year.

3. The two numbers 2b and 4b are exactly the same.

4. The first three numbers are each divisible without a remainder by 17, the interval from XIII Akbal to IV Ahau, which was true also of the 1,268,540 in the second column on page 63, although only this last number has anything to do with these important days, of which the other three numbers are independent.

On the other hand, a notable difference between the first serpent and the other three is, that the day XI Kan is the starting-point of the first and IX Kan of the others. There are, however, 80 days between IX Kan and XI Kan. Hence the numbers 2a and 1b are separated from each other by  $66,640 = 256 \times 260 + 80$ , although they have the same end III Chicchan.

Further it is to be noted that the largest of the eight numbers, 12,489,781, is separated from the lowest, 12,388,121, i.e., the black number from the red one of the first serpent, by only 101,660, i.e., by not a full one per cent of the entire magnitude.  $101,660 = 5 \times 18,980 + 26 \times 260$  or  $391 \times 260$  or  $7820 \times 13$ .

It is to be noted also that the differences between the black and red numbers in the second and third serpents (60,021 and 28,132) are divisible by 13 ( $4617 \times 13$  and  $2164 \times 13$ ). They *must* be, since all six numbers refer to the day III.

Finally the question naturally arises, how did the computer obtain these values, i.e., how was the whole structure built up? On page 63 we found a 136,864 (not 136,884) set down in strik-

ingly small characters and crowded between the other numbers, which would remain a mystery unless one assumed that it was reserved there for this structure; it is  $91 \times 1504$ . At first I thought it possible that this 136,864 had been again multiplied by 91, the real basal number of this section; for we had found a second power once before (on pages 46-50) by computation, viz:—  $2 \times 260 \times 260$ . The result of multiplication in this case would be 12,454,624, and the differences between the eight numbers in the serpents would be as follows:—  $1a + 35,157$ ,  $1b - 66,503$ ,  $2a + 137$ ,  $2b$  and  $4b - 60,884$ ,  $3a - 17,814$ ,  $3b + 12,318$ ,  $4a - 165$ . But these differences are doubtful, inasmuch as they bear no relation to the dates beginning and ending the serpent numbers.

On the other hand, another number contains the desired properties. I refer to the 12,412,920, i.e., it is 109 times the so-called Ahau-Katun of 113,880 days, and I believe I have found that the Ahau-Katun and its multiples were mostly used in the formation of the large numbers. In the following table I have placed this number beside each of the serpent numbers, have then found the difference between the two and have added to it the interval between the first and last day of each serpent number:—

1 a) 12,489,781 12,412,920 <hr/> 76,861 = $295 \times 260 + 161$ XI Kan — III Chiechan = 161.	1 b) 12,388,121 12,412,920 <hr/> — 24,799 = $95 \times 260 + 99$ III Chiechan — XI Kan = 99.
2 a) 12,454,761 12,412,920 <hr/> 41,841 = $160 \times 260 + 241$ IX Kan — III Chiechan = 241.	2 b) 12,394,740 12,412,920 <hr/> — 18,180 = $69 \times 260 + 240$ III Kan — IX Kan = 240.
3 a) 12,438,810 12,412,920 <hr/> 25,890 = $99 \times 260 + 150$ IX Kan — III Ix = 150.	3 b) 12,466,942 12,412,920 <hr/> 54,022 = $207 \times 260 + 202$ IX Kan — III Cimi = 202.
4 a) 12,454,459 12,412,920 <hr/> 41,539 = $159 \times 260 + 199$ IX Kan — XIII Akbal = 199.	4 b) = 2 b



Where the serpent number is less than 12,412,920, I have had to place the last day before the initial day.

The work of the Indian computer was, therefore, as follows:—

He took the days for granted. First he determined the differences between them; then he added to each difference a multiple of 260; and the choice of the multiple seems to have been quite arbitrary. The number thus obtained he added to 12,412,920, unless it was the smaller, in which case he subtracted it from 12,412,920, and the result he wrote down in the serpents.

We shall find the same process, only somewhat amplified, with the serpent on page 69.

Are the seven numbers intended to denote the destruction of the seven planets? I hope this question will be answered in the near future.

There now remains of the contents of these pages only the two columns on the left of page 61, which we will now examine and at the same time compare them with the corresponding column of page 69, the upper part of which is exactly the same, and the lower very nearly so. Each column consists of 18 hieroglyphs, which I count from the top downward, designating those of the first column by *a* and those of the second by *b*.

At the first glance these double columns remind one of the inscriptions in the temples and on the stelae, especially of their beginnings, the so-called initial series. Here, in the second column, we find the statement of the usual periods:—144,000, 7200, 360, 20, 1, but in the first column we find faces belonging to them. In his work "The Archaic Maya Inscriptions," 1897, which, on the whole, contains more of imagination than of science, J. T. Goodman unqualifiedly declares these faces to be numbers by which the periods indicated beside them are to be multiplied, and this theory has already found considerable recognition; we will therefore try to follow where he leads.

1a and 1b are effaced on page 61; they probably contained a sort of superscription as on the inscriptions. 2a is effaced on page 61, but the sign may be recognized from page 69 as that with which on page 46 the series of the twenty deities begins after 236 ( $4 \times 59$ ) days. On pages 61 and 69 it takes the place

of a face, to which I am inclined to assign the numerical value 4. In 2b, which is C's head, I am inclined to look for the value  $2,880,000 = 20 \times 20 \times 20 \times 360$  days, which is not at all inappropriate for C, as the sign of the north pole around which everything revolves. I therefore propose to read 2ab as  $4 \times 2,880,000 = 11,520,000$ . 3b, it seems to me, resembles the sign for 144,000, which I found in the inscriptions and which is repeated in 12a. It must, however, be left undecided by what this same number in 3a is to be multiplied; 3a is repeated besides in 8a and 13b. 4a contains the head of E, and 4b that of the Moan. 4a seems to refer to 5a, and 4b to 5b. But 5a and 5b are the same sign, which, inserted between the 144,000 and the 7200, can scarcely mean anything else than the so-called Ahau-Katun of  $6 \times 18,980 = 113,880$  days. Have we two such periods here? Were they designated by consecutive numbers? Now comes the 7200 in 6a, and the number 8 with E's head and the inserted sign for 360 days in 6b (on page 69 without E's head), therefore  $8 \times 360 = 2880$ . Seler also thinks 7a has the numerical value 16 (*Einiges mehr über die Monumente von Copan, etc.*, page 217); 7b belongs to 7a. 7b, a Kin with a 1 and a suffix and a leaf-shaped prefix, is inserted between the 360 and 20. What can it mean? Hardly the 260, for this is represented elsewhere (*e. g.*, page 24) by the thirteenth month Mac. Or can it possibly refer to the month Yaxkin (days 120-140)?

8b is a Chuen sign, which, with its prefix (superfix on page 69) always denotes twenty days in the inscriptions. It is multiplied with the same unknown head in 8a, which we have already met with in 3a. 9a contains H's head, and 9b is an unknown head with inserted Kin; the two signs must of necessity indicate the single days still to be added to the period, though as yet we do not know how.

The normal date IV Ahau 8 Cumhu then follows in 10ab. If it refers to the signs just now discussed, then they must denote a number of about the same magnitude as the serpent numbers. 653 or 654 times 18,980 seems to suggest itself, but we shall have more to say later on this subject. My efforts to reach a definite result here have failed.

Nor does the lower part of the two columns lead me to the desired goal. As it seems to consist of several groups, I will first combine 11ab and 12ab. I look upon 11a as denoting 20, and with regard to 11b I have already expressed the surmise in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* XXIII, page 153, that it may mean  $8760 = 24 \times 365$ , i. e., three Venus-solar periods. That would be  $20 \times 8760 = 480 \times 365 = 175,200$ . The Moan in 12a may have the value 13, for this number is so often combined with the Moan. As we saw under page 51, 12b is  $= 18,980$ ;  $13 \times 18,980 = 246,740$ . Accordingly the four signs taken together may mean  $421,940 = 1156 \times 365$ .

The second group, from 13a to 15b, refers, on the other hand, to the year of 360 days. First 13a  $= 144,000$ , having in 13b the unknown multiplier, which we have already seen in 3a and 8a. Then follows in 14a,  $15 \times 7200 = 108,000$ ; in 14b,  $9 \times 360 = 3240$ ; in 15a, a 20 with a prefixed 1 (21?); and in 15b, three days. It would be more correct to place the 1 beside the following 3. The whole sum would then end with the number 4, which would agree with the day Kan, the date specified below.

In the third group the  $16a = 19 \times 18,980 = 360,620$ , remains a mystery; an empty outline of a sign is added in 16b.

17ab also forms a group by itself. 17a contains a sign, which rather suggests the Bacab, upon whose period of 91 days the series belonging here is based. The Imix in 17b with a superfix is still unintelligible.

The columns end in 18 with the date IX Kan XII Kayab, the starting-point of the serpent numbers.

### Pages 65—69.

I think it very likely that this section bears the same relation to pages 61–64 as pages 46–50 do to 24 and as 53–58 to 51–52. For here, too, a period of time forming the basis of the earlier section seems to be divided into smaller parts. On page 64 we recognize as the basis of the series the number 91, the quarter of the ritual year of 364 days; here we have to do with the four-fold division of 91 into 13 unequal parts. And the real starting-points on these pages, as on the previous ones, are the days III Chicchan and XIII Akbal.

The four series of numbers, the top one of which I have probably correctly restored from what still remains, are as follows:—

9 XII, 5 IV, 1 V, 10 II, 6 VIII, 2 X, 11 VIII, 7 II, 3 V, 12 IV,  
8 XII, 4 III, 13 III.

11 I, 13 I, 11 XII, 1 XIII, 8 VIII, 6 I, 4 V, 2 VII, 13 VII, 6 XIII,  
6 VI, 8 I, 2 III.

11 XI, 13 XI, 11 IX, 1 X, 8 V, 6 XI, 4 II, 2 IV, 13 IV, 6 X,  
6 III, 8 XI, 2 XIII.

9 IX, 5 I, 1 II, 10 XII, 6 V, 2 VII, 11 V, 7 XII, 3 II, 12 I, 8 IX,  
4 XIII, 13 XIII.

The first two lines, forming together a single period of 182 days, refer to a day III, as we see by the ending, and the last two to XIII, which undoubtedly refers to the III Chicchan and XIII Akbal, the days so significant in the preceding section. Hence an interval of 218 days (III Chicchan to XIII Akbal) is to be assumed between the second and third lines, with the addition of which interval each of the two periods extends over 400 days.

The first and fourth series have the same difference; and the second and third correspond with one another in this respect. In the first and fourth the differences follow a rule, viz:—as if one were walking in a ring having on its edge the numbers 1 to 13, and kept stepping backward four numbers. The differences of the second and third series apparently do not follow any rule. Hence I think that the fourth series follows the third by mistake and ought rightfully to precede it. Only the fifth member in the first and second series has the same day VIII and the day V in the third and fourth series, otherwise the week-days of each series differ from those of the others.

As I regard III Chicchan and XIII Akbal as unquestionably the starting-points, I will here give a table of the days on which each of the twenty-six members of each series must fall and at the same time I will indicate for each day its number from the beginning of the series. Accordingly the first 182 days present the following appearance:—

## III 2.

1. 9. XII Ix	14. 102. I Manik
2. 14. IV Cauac	15. 115. I Ahau
3. 15. V Ahau	16. 126. XII Chuen
4. 25. II Oc	17. 127. XIII Eb.
5. 31. VIII Cib	18. 135. VIII Ahau
6. 33. X Eznab	19. 141. I Cimi
7. 44. VIII Muluc	20. 145. V Oc
8. 51. II Cib	21. 147. VII Eb
9. 54. V Cauac	22. 160. VII Chicchan
10. 66. IV Chuen	23. 166. XIII Chuen
11. 74. XII Cauac	24. 172. V Caban
12. 78. III Akbal	25. 180. I Chicchan
13. 91. III Cib	26. 182. III Manik

In the same way I will tabulate the second group of 182 days, but in this case I shall place the fourth line before the third, which is probably correct, and which shows for the first time parallelism of the two rows:—

## XIII 20.

1. 9. IX Eb	14. 102. XI Chicchan
2. 14. I Caban	15. 115. XI Eznab
3. 15. II Eznab	16. 126. IX Muluc
4. 25. XII Lamat	17. 127. X Oc
5. 31. V Ix	18. 135. V Eznab
6. 33. VII Cib	19. 141. XI Kan
7. 44. V Manik	20. 145. II Lamat
8. 51. XII Ix	21. 147. IV Oc
9. 54. II Caban	22. 160. IV Akbal
10. 66. I Muluc	23. 166. X Muluc
11. 74. IX Caban	24. 172. III Men
12. 78. XIII Imix	25. 180. XI Akbal
13. 91. XIII Ix	26. 182. XIII Chicchan

It would be very essential now to know what place these days occupy in the year, and what year is meant; the answer to one of these questions would at the same time solve the other.

Now I think I come nearer to the solution of this problem by assuming that the pictures and hieroglyphs refer here only to

the more important of the two days, XIII Akbal, and that III Chicchan is represented only by the numbers of the series. Thus both the pictures and the hieroglyphs of the two sections connect without the interval of 218 days, which must be assumed in the case of the numbers.

Here, as is usually the case of series, we have to begin at the bottom. Now the first group of the lower half of page 65 contains the sign 9 Kan. If, as it seems, this actually denotes the year, then the day XIII Akbal must be the first of the eleventh month, *i. e.*, the 201st day of the year. Hence I will again set down the twenty-six dates, but add to them the position in the year.

0.	XIII Akbal 1 Zac (9 Kan)	14.	102.	XI Chicchan 3 Pax
1.	9. IX Eb 10 Zac	15.	115.	XI Ezanab 16 Pax
2.	14. I Caban 15 Zac	16.	126.	IX Muluc 7 Kayab
3.	15. II Ezanab 16 Zac	17.	127.	X Oc 8 Kayab
4.	25. XII Lamat 6 Ceh	18.	135.	V Ezanab 16 Kayab
5.	31. V Ix 12 Ceh	19.	141.	XI Kan 2 Cumhu
6.	33. VII Cib 14 Ceh	20.	145.	II Lamat 6 Cumhu
7.	44. V Manik 5 Mac	21.	147.	IV Oc 8 Cumhu
8.	51. XII Ix 12 Mac	22.	160.	IV Akbal 21 Cumhu
9.	54. II Caban 15 Mac	23.	166.	X Muluc 2 Pop (10 Muluc)
10.	66. I Muluc 7 Kankin	24.	172.	III Mon 8 Pop
11.	74. IX Caban 15 Kankin	25.	180.	XI Akbal 16 Pop
12.	78. XIII Imix 19 Kankin	26.	182.	XIII Chicchan 18 Pop
13.	91. XIII Ix 12 Muun			

Let us now prove the correctness of my theory by an examination of groups 22 and 23. In 22 the 160th day of this period, the 361st day of the year is reached, *i. e.*, the first of the five Uayeyab days. The year 9 Kan is ended and the year 10 Muluc is not yet reached. In the corresponding picture we see B occupied in conveying in a bag the image of God K to whom belongs the next year. B is armed with the official staff and the bag also contains water (rain). In the 23d group the 166th day has passed and the second of the year 10 Muluc is reached, which gives the name to this year. The first hieroglyph shows two personages sitting back to back. This representation is repeated on a larger scale below in the Janus picture of B who is sitting on signs of planets. The second hieroglyph, with equal fitness, represents a clamp, which is intended for fastening two

objects together, and which is repeated twice over the Janus picture, black in one case and white in the other. Rain is pouring over the second half of the picture, for it has long been known that Muluc and rain belong together, and in our examination of page 7a we saw that K is the ruler of the day Muluc (6).

Now, before I begin the examination of the separate pictures and the groups of six hieroglyphs belonging to each picture, I wish to mention three things which are often repeated here.

First, B's picture, which appears in all the twenty-six pictures with the exception of 20, 24 and 25, and represents the god in the most varied positions and activities. These pictures are very similar to those on pages 29-46 and we shall therefore make frequent reference to the section there represented.

Second, the first hieroglyph in groups 1 to 13, strange to say, is not found in the second half. It is hieroglyph *f*, which appears in exactly the same way in close combination with B in two sections, which differ from each other but are placed side by side on pages 30c-39c. In the present passage it has a distinct prefix resembling the beak of a bird or tortoise, but in the former passage it has rather a stunted appearance. It seems to refer to the eagle in B's hands in group 13.

Third, the head with no underjaw, which is the sixth hieroglyph in groups 1 to 13, but does not occur in groups 14 to 26. It is repeated in a very similar fashion in the last hieroglyph but one on page 23b. I propose to attribute to it the meaning of fasting.

Now for the single groups:—

1. B is seated rowing in a boat, as he is represented also on pages 29c, 36b, 40c and 43c. A creature is swimming beneath him, which may be a crocodile. The fifth hieroglyph is the important 9 Kan already discussed, the fourth is *a* and the second the cross *b* combined with Caban. The day is the 210th of the year.

2. B is walking with the atlatl in his hand, and armed with javelins. Hieroglyph 5, Manik, denotes the chase, but has a prefix, which often seems to have the meaning of 20. 2 is the elongated head *q* with the prefix of the east belonging to the Kan years. 4 is a Moan sign (*c*) with the leaf-shaped prefix. Does

this perhaps denote the slaying of game in the forest? It is remarkable that B's feet are hidden, as if he were walking in sand or in a bog.

3. B is walking, carrying a large stick like that for tilling the field, as on pages 38b and 39b, and he bears a carrying-frame; there are footprints below him. Hieroglyph 2 is the compound of the signs for south and east, 4 (r) may denote rain, and 5 is two elongated heads with an unknown prefix.

4. B, is seated on astronomical signs as on page 37c. The copal pouch is hanging from his neck and he is brandishing his hatchet. Sign 2 is *b*, 4 is *a* and 5 is *r*, but all three signs have unusual prefixes; the first of these prefixes appears again in the tenth group, 41 days later.

5. B is seated on a head, probably that of D, which, however, is peculiar owing to the ornaments resembling bunches of grapes in place of both the eye and the ear (compare pages 39c and 41a). I do not venture to decide what he holds in his hand nor what are the other objects which he carries. Sign 2 is *r* with a prefix, 4 is Imix perhaps with a knife as a prefix, 5 is the skeleton which sometimes belongs to the lightning beast, but also to the 14th month; its prefix is unknown.

6. B is seated on a support, which contains two cross-bones, down to which he points with his right hand, while his left hand holds the hatchet on his knee. Sign 2 is the crouching naked personage, with the cross *b* prefixed, 4 is the elongated head with a prefixed Yax, and 5 is Kan with a vessel as a prefix (instead of Imix) from which steam or froth is rising. The day is the 234th of the year, *i.e.*, the end of a week of  $18 \times 13$  days.

7. B is sitting on a tree at the root of which his own head appears (compare with this the representations on pages 31c, 33c, and especially 40a, and also 41b and 42b). The second sign is Yax with a prefix; 4 is Kin within which there is a 1, as is several times the case, for example, on pages 61 and 69. The fifth sign is still a mystery to me. The day here is V Manik. Do the hieroglyphs suggest that the interval from the day IX Kan, which gives the name to the year, to V Manik is exactly the same



as that from the normal date IV Ahau to the true starting-point of our passage, the day XIII Akbal? Both intervals are 243.

8. B is seated in a house, on the roof, wall and floor of which are several Caban signs, just as on page 30a; he seems to be pointing forward. Sign 2 is Caban with a prefix, the 4th and also the 5th is Kan with two unusual prefixes.

9. Water is pictured at the bottom of this picture, and in it are a fish, a mussel and a snail (possibly page 37b may be compared with this). There seems to be a suggestion of foot-prints on the margin of the water, back of which B is walking, his legs hidden as far as the knees. He holds the hatchet up-lifted in his left hand and his right holds what may be a long-stemmed aquatic plant (compare page 42b). Sign 2 is composed of *b*, Imix, the mouth and nose of C and the object which apparently is a beak, previously met with in sign 1. 4 is Kan-Imix, and 5 is Kan with prefix and suffix.

10. B is seated in an expectant attitude, his hands resting on his knees. We see a very similar representation of him on page 38a, where he faces himself, and in general the remaining pictures of that passage furnish a striking parallel to the present one. Sign 2 is a head (E's?) with a call seemingly issuing from its mouth. 4 is the elongated head *q* with the Ben-Ik superfix and an unusual prefix, which we found on page 66c prefixed to the cross *b*; 5 is Kan with the same prefix, which I regarded as denoting a call in sign 2, and which is probably answered here by an affirmative cry.

11. The expectation has been fulfilled. B is seated on a mat holding a woman in the same position as on page 38a. Sign 2 is the cross *b* with the prefixed beak as in 1, and also with another prefix, which seems sometimes to denote the number 20. 4 is exactly the same Kin with 1 and the leaf-shaped prefix, which occurred in the same place with the seventh picture. 5 contains the sign for 73 days; a new period of this length begins here on the 74th day.

12. As in the parallel passage on page 38 B seems to be offering a Kan, so here his gift consists of a kind of wreath, like the one in the fifth picture; he is seated on astronomical signs, which contain the cross *b* twice as does also hieroglyph 2. 4 is

Kin-Akbal, and 5 is a Kan with the prefix which generally belongs to the south as a superfix.

13. B is seated on the elongated head *q* with a superfix and a prefix, exactly as on pages 37c and 40a, and this sign is repeated in the hieroglyphs (in 2) just as it is in the two former places. He holds the eagle on his lap and we see him connected with the same bird in a different way on page 43c. Is B represented here as the preventer of evil? Hieroglyph 4 is *a*, while 5 is Kan, apparently with the sign of the south as a prefix. A Bacab period of 91 days ends here. We come now to the upper series of pictures.

14. B is walking in the rain, with the copal pouch around his neck and the hatchet uplifted in his left hand. An unknown object, possibly held in his right hand, is hanging in front of his legs. Hieroglyphs 1 and 3 are effaced, 2 is indistinct, 5 seems to be a Xul (end, close) and 6 is E's head.

15. B is walking, brandishing the hatchet in his left hand, and holding in his right an object resembling a cornucopia filled with fruit; below this hangs what appears to be a flower. The god wears the copal pouch. Hieroglyph 1 is a hand holding K's head; it is curious that this sign should also occur in the next group as an indication of the approaching Muluc year. 3 is a sign still undetermined; but the prefix is the crouching naked personage with dots suggesting stars around its head. I have often thought that similar figures represented Mercury; it is remarkable that exactly the 115th day of this section is reached here, corresponding with the apparent revolution of Mercury = 115 days. Similarly sign 2 invites computation; it is a face resembling an Ahau sign, with a 3 as a superfix and a 9 as a prefix; compare the other places containing the same face, with 33c. After the fashion of the inscriptions this would denote  $9 + 3 \times 20 = 69$ , which by the way is three fifths of the Mercury revolution. 5 is a compound of Akbal and Imix and 6 a compound of a Moan sign (*c*) with *a*.

16. B is in a half sitting position and holds a strange object before himself. On top of his own head is K's, which is repeated in sign 2. I do not know how to explain 1, unless it is the bat-god; 3 is a Xul = end (but of what?) combined with Imix,

and 5 is the usual Kan-Imix. 6 is a Kin with an 8 back of it (as 36b, 37b, 67a, 68a) and over it is a hand pointing to the right, just like those in groups 20 and 25. This looks as if we ought to count forward 8 days, but what can be the purpose of doing so?

17. B is walking armed with spear and shield. Sign 1 is *b*, 2 the face resembling an Ahau, which occupied the second place in group 15, 3 is probably Xul again, but with an effaced prefix; of 5 also only an Imix remains; while 6 is the usual compound of Muluc-Caban.

18. We have now reached the day 16 Kayab, a day very close to the day 18 Kayab, which on page 24 we recognized as an especially important day, while in my article "Zur Entzifferung III" I regarded it as the day of the summer solstice. Computed from the normal date IV Ahau 8 Cumhu it may also have denoted the end of a lunar year, as on pages 51-58 where it is the basis of the series. The picture here agrees with this. B is sitting in the pouring rain of the rainy season and gazing upward at the planets, as on page 36c and particularly on 39c; the sun and moon are also represented, but below the planets. The hieroglyphs likewise contain the sun and moon in 1 and 2, in 3, Ahau and Xul with a prefix, as if this were the end of the increase of the sun's power; 5 is Kin-Akbal, day and night, and 6 is Caban with the cross *b*.

19. B is walking armed with hatchet and shield. He holds a serpent in his hand as on page 40c, but here with the head downward. Hieroglyphs 1 and 2 are destroyed, 3 is the cross *b* with a suffix and the horse-shoe prefix *c*, known to us from pages 5 and 6. 5 is Imix combined with Chuen and probably with Yax, and 6 is E's head.

20. This is the old red woman with the tiger claws, whom we saw on pages 39b and 43b and shall see again on page 74; she reinforces the water falling from the planets by pouring a stream from her jug. The first three hieroglyphs are effaced, 4 is the elongated head *q*, 5 is Kin-Akbal, 6, as in group 16, is again the enigmatical 8 with a hand pointing to the right.

21. B is walking and bears pouch, spear and shield. Hiero-

glyph 1 is a hand holding the sign of the rising Moan, just as in 15 a hand holds the head of K; 2 is again K, whose sign is probably effaced several times in the last groups of this series. 3 is E with the sign of the east; 5 is compounded of Imix, Chuen and *b*, and 6 is Kin with the sign of the north. Here the day of the normal date is reached, but this may be significant only for the year 9 IX.

22. We come now to the representation of the change of the year, which we have already mentioned. Hieroglyph 1 is curious, consisting of the moon with a stripe running around it like a strap; 3 and 5 are not clear to me and are doubtless closely connected with one another; 3 also contains a trace of K and is perhaps a determinative of the same. 6 is again E, and suggests the tilling of the fields.

23. This picture as well as the first two hieroglyphs have already been discussed above. The crouching personage, repeated again in 3 as a prefix to the cross *b*, is curious. 5 is again E and 6 is Imix, referring to grain and honey.

24. The picture and three of the hieroglyphs plainly correspond. The grain deity E holds food and drink in his hand. Rain is pouring from the planets, and the wind-beast plunges down, as on pages 44 and 45. Sign 3 is E's hieroglyph, 6 is Kan-Imix and 2 is the wind-beast. B is superfluously added in 4 and the same is true of the cross *b* in 1, while Kin-Akbal in 5 seems to fit almost everywhere. Pages 29a, 30a and 45c show the lightning-beast in a different form.

25. As is usually the case, rain is pouring from the stars and below them are the sun and moon as before. This time C is sitting in the rain, clad in the gala mantle and holding Kan. Hieroglyphs 1, 2 and 4, the latter apparently representing C, are effaced. The other three are enigmatical, 3 is again Xul with a prefixed 9, 5 a Caban, but with an unintelligible prefix, and 6 is again the mysterious 8.

26. B is sitting on a tree or sacrificial stone, which is colored half blue and half red, and may denote the ceasing of the rainy season; he is brandishing his hatchet. Hieroglyphs 1, 2 and 3

are effaced; 4 is B's sign, 5 might be Xul and 6 is a with *c* added and thus referring to the Moan. And here the half of the ritual year ends with the 182nd day, which is XIII Chicchan 18 Pop (10 Muluc); and it is left to the reader to imagine or to find hieroglyphs and pictures for the other two series of numeral signs.

I am troubled about the five naked crouching figures of this section, which I am inclined to regard as the sign for Mercury with its apparent revolution of 115 days, which, however, seems sometimes (as on pages 54, 56 and 58 in the upper sections) to be raised to the value of half a Tonalamatl = 130 days. This may be explained by the fact that it is difficult to determine exactly the length of the revolution of Mercury. In group 15 this figure appears exactly on the 115th day of this section, but in group 6 on the 234th day of the year, *i. e.*, approximately at the expiration of two Mercury periods after the beginning of the year. But now for group 23. Here there are three of these crouching figures. The two upper ones leaning back to back must serve the purpose of indicating the change in the year. But they would hardly do so, if the third personage were not added, which may indicate that the solar year consists approximately of three Mercury periods. I look upon this view of the matter merely as the first attempt at an explanation.

### Pages 69—73.

The chief subject of the last great section of this Manuscript is two of the usual series, from which large numbers are developed in the usual way and the largest of all is finally recorded in a serpent. This section thus forms a parallel to the contents of pages 61-64, but is somewhat more composite.

Before I begin the discussion of these series, I wish to examine two passages, which I think are not connected with these series, but are independent, like the instance on pages 51-58, where the hieroglyphs were found to be quite independent of the numerals. The Mayas took advantage of space wherever it presented itself, which is admissible in ideographic writing.

The first of these two passages is at the top of pages 71-73.

Here there are four horizontal rows of twelve hieroglyphs each. Since, however, the top row is entirely effaced and none of the other three are perfectly preserved, it is quite impossible at present to judge of the interconnection of the whole. But I must point out a certain resemblance to the passage on pages 44b-45b, where a period of 78 days is considered with reference to the wind-deities. The first and sixth columns of pages 71-72 likewise contain the signs for wind and the pierced ears. The fact that the Bacab sign occurs in the eighth column, and in no other, must attract attention; if we knew it to be effaced in the first column, then each column might refer to 13 days, though  $12 \times 13$ , it is true, does not form a natural whole. C's sign is the only hieroglyph of a god to be found in both passages. E also occurs on pages 44b-45b and may be one of the effaced signs on pages 71-72. There is no trace left of the others. The fact that some hieroglyphs occur in both the passages referred to proves nothing with regard to signs in frequent use and I can find no cases of correspondence among those occurring more rarely. Hence this passage must be left for the present as an almost complete mystery.

I have discussed the second passage in detail in my article "Zur Entzifferung der Mayahandschriften V," of the year 1895, and from it I will borrow the following. This second passage fills the middle and lower thirds of pages 71-73, occupying the same space as the first passage in the upper third, and offering far more reliable material than the latter.

That these hieroglyphs are not connected with the numerals above and below, can be deduced from the fact that the numbers follow one another from right to left and the hieroglyphs in the reversed order. This is proved by the hand pointing to the right, which occurs here at least eight times like the one occurring twenty times on pages 46-50.

But the scribe, misled by the direction of the numeral series, began on page 71 to write the *first* of these hieroglyphs from the right instead of from the left, but after the first four groups he corrected his mistake. Hence I read the groups of three hieroglyphs each, in the following order:—

Page 71				Page 72.				Page 73.					
2	1	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	19	20	21	22	23
4	3	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	24	25	26	27	28

The number 28 shows that we have to do here with 28 weeks of 13 days each, *i.e.*, with a ritual year of 364 days, as was the case on pages 31-32, 63-64 and 65-69. This year, however, is divided into four parts of  $7 \times 13 = 91$  days, *i.e.*, into four so-called Bacab periods. This is very plainly indicated here, for groups 4, 11, 18 and 25, *i.e.*, those separated by seven groups each, are exactly alike, but in group 4b (I will designate the three hieroglyphs of each group from top to bottom by *a*, *b* and *c*) there is a prefixed 4 which refers to the four Bacabs as does the same 4 prefixed to the Bacab sign at the top of page 72.

Now the question arises as to when this ritual year began. Undoubtedly its beginning day was very different from that of the civil year (360 days) and from that of the astronomical year (365 days).

In this matter I follow Mrs. Zelia Nuttall, who has rendered such estimable service to Aztec science. At the Congress of Americanists at Stockholm in 1894, she submitted an article entitled "Note on the Ancient Mexican Calendar System," in which with keen discernment she pointed out a year beginning with the spring equinox and including in its centre the sacred Tonalamatl, *i.e.*, 260 days, which were preceded and followed by 52 days. I recognize this ritual year also in the present passage of the "Dresdensis," as the one current in the Maya country. It probably began about the 10th of March, at that period about the time of the vernal equinox, according to the Julian Calendar.

Beginning with this date, I will now attempt to tabulate the chronology of this passage. In the first column I will place the number of the group of hieroglyphs in question, in the second I will set down to what day of the Maya year each group refers; in the third, the corresponding day of our year, and finally in the fourth, the 20-day periods which agree in general with the dates.

1.	1-13	March 10-22	Ceh.
2.	14-26	March 23-April 5	Mac.
3.	27-39	April 6-18	} Kankin.
4.	40-52	April 19-May 1	
5.	53-65	May 2-14	Moan.
6.	66-78	May 15-27,	Pax.
7.	79-91	May 28-June 9	} Kayab.
8.	92-104	June 10-22	
9.	105-117	June 23-July 5	} Cumhu.
10.	118-130	July 6-18	
11.	131-143	July 19-31	Pop.
12.	144-156	August 1-13	} Uo.
13.	157-169	August 14-26	
14.	170-182	August 27-September 8	Zip.
15.	183-195	September 9-21	} Zotz.
16.	196-208	September 22-October 4,	
17.	209-221	October 5-17	Zec.
18.	222-234	October 18-30	} Xul.
19.	235-247	October 31-November 12	
20.	248-260	November 13-25	Yaxkin.
21.	261-273	November 26-December 8	} Mol.
22.	274-286	December 9-21	
23.	287-299	December 22-January 3	} Chen.
24.	300-312	January 4-16	
25.	313-325	January 17-29	Yax.
26.	326-338	January 30-February 11	} Zac.
27.	339-351	February 12-24	
28.	352-364	February 25-March 8	Ceh.

In the following I will call attention to a few points by which this arrangement is justified.

Hieroglyph 1a admits of explanation. It consists of four parts:—the left top is Kin, meaning sun or day, the right top is the sign of the year, the right bottom is the knife as symbol of separation or division, and the left bottom, which is especially decisive, is the month Ceh. Hence I read 1a thus:—the day of the change of year in the month Ceh. The sign 1b is the



familiar Kin-Akbal signifying either the beginning day or the day Akbal. If the year should be named from this sign, then this would mean a Kan year, as in the preceding section the beginning lay in the year 9 Kan. If the year in the latter section had been as equally divided as the one in question here, it would have furnished us with some very remarkable parallels.

Again the four groups: — 4, 11, 18 and 25, which are alike, are important. The cross in sign *a*, combined with the three dotted lines passing from top to bottom, may refer to the wind and this meaning is further confirmed by the Ik sign (wind) in *c*. Further the sign *b* between them is that for the Bacab, the wind deity itself.

The most important events of the year are obviously the sowing and harvesting of the maize together with the beginning and end of the rainy season. Now we find the first two in connection with the god E, the maize-god, who is represented in 6c and 13c, 91 days apart, corresponding to the end of May and the beginning of August. Generally speaking, sixty days only were reckoned as the time between sowing and reaping, but here a quarter of a year may have been taken as a round number and it may also have reference to a more elevated region.

I am inclined to think that the beginning and end of the rainy season are referred to in signs 8c and 16c, where, as it seems to me, three lines of drops are falling from a rectangle denoting the sky (as is usual) like the representation of rain dropping from a cloud at the bottom of page 36 (second picture). The serpent 8b as symbol of water may also refer to the same thing, especially as it is combined with an Akbal (often denoting beginning). The sign, which I think denotes the rainy season, is very similar, but not the same as another one, which is common to the *Dresdensis* and *Tro-Cortesianus*, the significance of which is certainly very close to the idea of the week of 13 days.

I have some other ideas on this subject, which, however, are mere conjectures, advanced with some hesitation. If the Chuen sign in 7a is actually a serpent's jaw, then it might refer to the beginning of the astronomical year in May, since the serpent so often designates that time.

In 9b we find a crouching figure with the sign which is usually considered that of the death-bird. In another place (Zur Entzifferung IV, 12) I have regarded the naked human figure placed upside down on page 58 as the sign for Mercury, and on page 60 at the bottom, left, I also regarded the crouching figure as representing Mercury vanquished by Venus. But in 9b, which belongs to the 105th-117th days of the year, a 115 day revolution of Mercury is computed. A crouching figure, like that in 9b, likewise appears on page 65a in the second series of 91 days after  $11 + 13 = 24$  days of this series have elapsed, i.e., directly after the 115 days of the apparent revolution of Mercury.

In 10b, and it is the only place in this passage, we find the hieroglyph of B, the leading god of this Manuscript. This corresponds with the time of the greatest power of the sun and of the change in the civil year (July 16th). In Group 12, do *a* and *c* mean the year and is *b* the head with the Akbal eye, thus denoting the beginning of the civil year? It ought really to have formed group 11, but there was no room for it, since it was necessary that the signs for the period of 91 days should be set down there.

Signs 14a and the combined signs 15bc are almost alike and suggest 1a. Is it intended to designate here the ritual year, the time of the autumnal equinox (September 10th?). In 15a two hooks, turned in opposite directions proceed from one side of the sun-glyph. Do they signify two halves of the year and does the 3 in front of them signify the third quarter of the year?

20b is the sign of the death-god A, probably not placed accidentally here at the end of the month Xul, which denotes the end; but the end of what?

The hieroglyph in 23a is a black bird, with two hooks, one pointing up and the other down, projecting from its head. Usually these hooks belong to K, and by means of them this bird becomes the storm-bird; the year symbol is below. Does this hieroglyph signify the time of the shortest day, when darkness predominates?

A peculiarity of this passage is the striking frequency of the

sign looked upon as that of the death-bird as well as of the cognate sign, which is commonly considered as that of the rising Moan. The first bird is in the 14th group, in the 9th it is combined with the apparent Mercury sign, and in the 17th with the year sign. The second bird with the prefixed Yax is in the 2nd group. But it is especially striking that several times both signs, and this is the case nowhere else, are combined into a single sign in groups 9, 13 and 26 and also probably in 19 where, however, the Moan sign seems to be effaced.

This is all I have to say at the present time in reference to this calendar. Some of my statements are positive and some are only conjectures. Compare my treatise "Zwei Hieroglyphenrissen in der Dresdener Mayahandschrift" (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1905, 2 and 3).

Having disposed in this way of the two supplementary subjects of this section, I will now proceed to consider the principal theme, viz:—the two series and whatever is connected with them.

#### 1. The 54-Series of the Day IX IX.

As with the other series, we begin here at the right, i. e., with page 73. There in the last column we find the superscription as it were. It is true that nothing positive can be gathered from the top part consisting of five hieroglyphs, which are mostly destroyed. The third hieroglyph seems to be the sign in group 2a discussed above. The fourth is an Akbal with a prefixed arm as on pages 8a, 36a, and the fifth is an Ik with a prefix.

Below these are three numbers:—14,040, 702 and 54, which are in the proportion of 260, 13 and 1, so that the 14,040 is a Tonalamatl, as it were, of 260 periods of 54 days each. The fact that 54 is chosen here as the difference of the following series is curious, because usually only parts of 260 or of 364 are selected. But 54 is probably only a secondary matter, while 14,040, with its marvellous property of divisibility into the most varied and important periods, is the chief subject.

There is a 9 in a red circle under the three numbers. It is

meant to denote the starting-point of the series, the day IX Ix. Perhaps these two as well as the 54 are connected with the 9 "señores de las noches."

In passing on to the left, I shall not consider the hieroglyphs and numbers in the next two columns in the upper third, since they are only set down here in order to secure space for them. They will be discussed later.

The series itself begins in the upper third of page 71, in the next to the last column; it is continued on page 72 and on page 73 as far as the third column. The first twelve numbers are written from left to right contrary to the usual practice, doubtless occasioned by the passage above the series, which has already been discussed. And below, again contrary to rule, we find not the week and month days, but only the week days and they are in red circles. If written in the usual way, the series would have the following form (with the usual omission of the initial day IX Ix):—

54	108	162	216	270	324	378
XI Lamat	XIII Ik	II Cib	IV Oc	VI Kan	VIII Ezanab	X Eb
432	486	540	594	648		
XII Cimi	I Ahau	III Ix	V Lamat	VII Ik.		

The series must now continue with the 702 already specified on page 73, which it proceeds to do from right to left in the middle of page 71, and continues from there on with regularly added dates and with the 702 itself as the difference. At the same time, since  $702=54 \times 13$ , the week-days are forced to come to a standstill on the IX, while each of the month days ascends by two ( $702=35 \times 20+2$ ). The  $4914=7 \times 702$  is obtained in the next to the last column of page 70. On page 71 the 702 is incorrectly set down as 1. 15. 2. instead of 1. 17. 2. The series continues on page 71 in the same way beyond the 702, until in 7020 a number is obtained which is also divisible by 260, so that now the accompanying day must be IX Ix. Now we ought to expect to see here the double of 7020, the very 14,040 above-mentioned, but it is omitted just because it was set down on page 73. Nevertheless this very number forms the new differ-

ence with which the series returns from page 70 to the top line of page 71, where the numbers are mostly effaced, but enough remains to enable us to assume that the last number on page 71 is the 10th multiple of 14,040, and this may be followed by the 11th and 12th multiples, the last number being 168,480.

## 2. The 65-Series of the Day IV Eb.

This series begins in the middle of page 73 with the day IV Caban, the zero-point therefore being IV Eb. It then advances to the left across 28 members, until on page 71 it reaches the number  $1820 \div 5$  years of 364 days  $\div 7$  Tonalamatls. From there on, 1820 itself is the difference, and the accompanying day therefore remains IV Eb. Then, in the two lowest sections of pages 71 and 70, the fourth multiple of 1820, i.e., 7280, is the third difference and thus the series advances to  $15 \times 7280 = 109,200$  on page 71, after which on page 70 the omitted  $8 \times 7280 = 58,240$  is written out. Close beside this number are the figures 1. 0. 12. 3. and a 0 below the latter, which was not successfully erased; this would be the number 7443 of which I can make nothing at all.

The initial dates of the two series, IX Ix and IV Eb, are 138 days apart and reversely 122 days.

## 3. The Groups of Hieroglyphs.

The transition, as it were, from the series to the large numbers is formed by a few groups of hieroglyphs.

The first of these groups is at the top of pages 69-70; its first top line is completely effaced. The remainder I will designate by the following numbers:—

1	2	5	6	9	13
3	4	7	8	10	14
				11	15
				12	16.

The date IX Kan 12 Kayab, set down under 3 and 4 does not belong there but to the serpent below and will be discussed later.

I take sign 1 to be that of a Bacab, 2 I do not understand and it is half obliterated; it seems to occur again on page 73

in the column to the extreme right. 3 and 7 are the elongated head *q* with an unusual superfix, 4 and 8 correspond with one another, but I cannot explain them. 5, 10 and 14 denote the beginning, 6, 11 and 15, the end. 9 and 13 both designate the 8th day of the month Kayab and over them IV Ahau must have been set down twice. 12 and 16 are two heads of gods, 12 is probably D's with the sign for west and 16, B's with that of the east.

On page 70, in the middle of the third and fourth columns, the day IX Ix occurs twice. In one case it ought to have been IV Eb and the scribe has really changed the IX to IV, but he omitted changing the Ix to Eb. Directly below these dates we find the second group, consisting of two rows of four hieroglyphs.

I think these eight hieroglyphs can be interpreted as follows:—

- |              |                       |
|--------------|-----------------------|
| 1) 13 Pax    | 2) 20 Pop or 25 Cuihu |
| 3) VIII Ahau | 4) 13 Yaxkin          |
| 5) 10 Muan   | 6) 37,960             |
| 7) 20        | 8) 1 Zec.             |

The following is to be noted in this connection:—

3 is really set down X Ahau, but an VIII is written above the Ahau by way of correction. The day VIII Ahau will presently prove to be important.

6, a compound of Imix and the superfix denoting multiplication, is the sign for 18,980, and its prefix seems to me to denote duplication. We have long known how important the  $37,960 = 146 \times 260 = 104 \times 365$  is, and, if my theory is correct, we shall see directly that it occurs again here.

8 seems really to be 1 Zec, but the composite prefixes demand further examination.

Impenetrable darkness still shrouds the meaning of the whole group. Though it is clear that in several cases certain days are specified according to their position in the year, their distance apart does not agree with the interval between days IV Eb, IX Ix and IV Ahau under discussion here.

If signs 3 and 4 ought to be read together as VIII Ahau 13 Yaxkin, then this date would come in the year 7 Muluc. In the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* I explained the five hieroglyphs

in the third column at the bottom of page 70 (the third group) as civil years of 360 and astronomical years of 365 days:—

- 1)  $8,760 = 24 \times 365 = 15 \times 584$
- 2)  $2,920 = 8 \times 365 = 5 \times 584$
- 3)  $7,200 = 20 \times 360$
- 4)  $18,720 = 52 \times 360 = 72 \times 260$
- 5) 360

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37,960.

This, it is true, is a striking explanation and certainly a surprising one!

Now the date IX Ix 12 Kayab is at the very bottom of the fourth column. This, without apparent reason, would refer to the year 4 Kan. Should it not be read IX Kan 12 Kayab (4 Ix), thus indicating that the entire passage is only the preparation for the date from which the serpent numbers proceed? The scribe may have had in mind the IX Ix of the series.

The fourth and last group on page 73, above the two numbers 83,474 and 34,732, consists of four hieroglyphs. The two upper hieroglyphs on the left are effaced, and the top one on the right. I think it probable that the day VIII Ahau, which will be discussed later, may have stood in the top line, and possibly with a month date. Of the two remaining signs of the fourth group, the upper is the moon and the lower Imix, probably with the hieroglyph of the east as a prefix; but there is nothing to be done with it owing to the obliteration of the sign above it. In the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1891, page 153, I have endeavored to explain these three signs on the right above 34,732, by suggesting for them the values

$$\begin{aligned} 18,980 &= 52 \times 365 \\ 8,760 &= 24 \times 365 \\ 7,200 &= 20 \times 360 \end{aligned}$$

---

34,940

and calling special attention to the fact that between IV Eb and IV Ahau there are 208 days, and that the 34,732 placed below them in the Manuscript, increased by 208, is equal to 34,940.

This group then seems really to belong to the day IV Eb and to the 65-series, while manifold problems are still to be encountered in interpreting the other groups.

#### 4. The Large Numbers.

The Manuscript offers material with which to work, beginning on page 70:—

1,394,120	1,437,020	1,567,332	1,520,654
(606)	(1646)	IV Eb	IX Ix
IV Ahau	IV Ahau	VIII Ahau; 13 Yaxkin (7 Muluc).	
8 Cumhu	8 Cumhu		
IX Ix	IV Eb		
1,201,200	1,202,240	111,554	101,812
(86)	(208)		
IV Ahau	IV Ahau		
8 Cumhu	8 Cumhu		

This is followed at the right top of page 73 by

83,474	34,732
IX Ix	IV Eb.

Two of the numbers and two of the dates are conjectural:—

I read the 1,202,240 as 8. 6. 19. 10. 0. while the Manuscript has 16 instead of 6. I read the 101,812 as 14. 2. 14. 12. the Manuscript has 16 instead of the second 14. And in two places in the third column of page 70, I have restored the day IV Eb, where the Manuscript incorrectly repeats the IX Ix, and does the same thing on page 73.

Let us now first consider the construction of those large numbers, which are connected with the day IX Ix and thus with the 54-series. These numbers are the two upper ones of columns 1 and 2 and the lower one of column 1 on page 70.

174 is the starting-point, the number of the day is IX Ix, which seems to have been chosen because it divides the Tonalamatl approximately in the proportion of 2 to 1. (IV Ahau — IX Ix = 174.)

The 5359th, 5520th and 4619th multiples of 260 have been added to 174; why precisely these multiples were chosen re-



mains a mystery. In this way were obtained the following numbers, which the Manuscript suppresses. I will give them with their corresponding dates:—

$$1,393,514 = IX \text{ Ix } 12 \text{ Muan (5 Kan).}$$

$$1,435,374 = IX \text{ Ix } 17 \text{ Chen (3 Cauac).}$$

$$1,201,114 = IX \text{ Ix } 7 \text{ Mac (11 Muluc).}$$

When we add to the above the three encircled numbers 606, 1,646 and 86, the resulting sums are the three numbers found in the Manuscript:—

$$1,394,120 = IV \text{ Ahau } 8 \text{ Chen (7 Ix).}$$

$$1,437,020 = IV \text{ Ahau } 23 \text{ Cumhu (7 Cauac).}$$

$$1,201,200 = IV \text{ Ahau } 13 \text{ Kayab (11 Muluc).}$$

I am placing the first two not far from the present and the third in the past.

As multiples of 260 these three numbers have the following form:—

$$1,394,120 = 5362 \times 260.$$

$$1,437,020 = 5527 \times 260.$$

$$1,201,200 = 4620 \times 260.$$

Some curious facts come to light with regard to their magnitude and their mutual relation.

The two largest numbers are  $165 \times 260 = 660 \times 65$  apart; this recalls the 65-series. The third lowest number is  $165 \times 7280$  and thus contains not only the 65 but  $= 165 \times 65 \times 112$ .

The ritual year (364) and its excess over the Tonalamatl (104) is likewise contained in these numbers, at least in the first and third:—

$$1,394,120 = 3830 \times 364 = 13,405 \times 104.$$

$$1,201,200 = 3300 \times 364 = 11,550 \times 104.$$

The three encircled numbers are connected with one another because the first  $= 2 \times 260 + 86$ , the second  $= 6 \times 260 + 86$  and the third is 86 itself. The larger encircled numbers are, therefore,  $1040 = 4 \times 260$  apart, and this is also the interval between the two numbers near the bottom. 1040, however, also  $= 5 \times 208$ , and 208 is the interval from IV Eb to IV Ahau. Now it is curious that the two numbers below are  $5775 \times$

208 and  $5780 \times 208$ , though the third belongs to day IX Ix and the fourth to IV Eb. One result of this is that  $1,201,200 = 1155 \times 1040$  and  $1,202,240 = 1156 \times 1040$ .

As these three numbers relate to day IX Ix and the 54-series, so the fourth relates to IV Eb and the 65-series.

Here the starting-point is the number 52, which belongs to day IV Eb and this is separated from IV Ahau by 208 days *i. e.*, it divides the Tonalamatl in the proportion of 1 to 4.

To the number 52 then, for unknown reasons was added  $4623 \times 260 = 1,201,980$ , and thus the number 1,202,032, suppressed in the Manuscript, was obtained for the day IV Eb. To this sum the encircled number 208 was then added and the result was 1,202,240, the number in the Manuscript.

The number  $= 23,120 \times 52 = 4624 \times 260$ , which is self-evident, but it also  $= 5780 \times 208$ , *i. e.*, it is a multiple of the encircled number. It consequently also  $= 11,560 \times 104$ , and thus it is related to the first and third numbers just now discussed.

The position of this number is IV Ahau 18 Kankin (1 Kan) and the position of the suppressed number is IV Eb 10 Zotz (also 1 Kan).

We ought now to discuss the last two numbers of this section amounting to millions: — 1,567,332 and 1,520,654, which are in the third and fourth columns at the top of page 70. But before going further, we must examine four other numbers, two of which, 111,554 and (with my correction) 101,812, are in column 4 on the lower part of page 70, and the other two, 83,474 and 34,732, are on the top of page 73. Although these four numbers are not ornamented with circles, they all have the significance of the numbers enclosed in circles and are designations of differences between suppressed and specified numbers.

Let us first of all examine their curious relation to one another:—

The Manuscript should have set down under these numbers the day IX Ix twice and IV Eb twice, from which days the numbers in question must be computed; but here the two errors already mentioned were made.

111,554 — 101,812 is 9742, the very same number which we shall afterward find as the difference of the serpent numbers on page 69.

$83,474 - 34,732 = 48,742$ . If 9472 be subtracted from this, the remainder is exactly  $39,000 = 150$  Tonalamatls = 50 revolutions of Mars. I have already found this number on page 31a, and also the double of it, 78,000, on page 24, and this I found by using  $68,900 + 9100$  for my computation.

$111,554 - 83,474 = 28,080$ , *i. e.*, exactly the double of the important 14,040, which is recorded on page 73.

$101,812 - 34,732 = 67,080$ , *i. e.*, = 258 Tonalamatls or 86 revolutions of Mars.

$111,554 - 34,732 = 76,822$ ; if 122, the interval from IV Eb to IX Ix be subtracted from this, the remainder is  $76,700 = 295$  Tonalamatls.

$101,812 - 83,474 = 18,338$ ; if 138, the interval from IX Ix to IV Eb, be subtracted from 18,338, the remainder is  $18,200 = 70$  Tonalamatls = 50 ritual years of 364 days each, *i. e.*, exactly the double of the 9100 specified on page 24.

Now we also have the following equations for the four numbers:—

$$111,554 = 429 \times 260 + 14.$$

$$83,474 = 321 \times 260 + 14.$$

$$101,812 = 391 \times 260 + 152.$$

$$34,732 = 133 \times 260 + 152.$$

A day VIII Ahau is 14 days back of the day IX Ix, and another VIII Ahau is 152 days back of IV Eb.

Thus a day VIII Ahau hitherto unmentioned is introduced into the computations. This day has no doubt been chosen, because it divides the Tonalamatl beginning with IV Ahau into two parts of 160 and 100 days, which are in the proportion of 8 to 5, *i. e.*, the same proportion as the Venus year to the solar year.

This day VIII Ahau may also figure in the large numbers of the first two columns on page 70, for 1,394,120 and 1,201,200 are both divisible by 14, the interval between VIII Ahau and IX Ix.

Now I believe that the large numbers were constructed in the following twofold manner (I add the corresponding dates):—

$$\begin{array}{r}
 160 \\
 1,408,940 = 5419 \times 260 \\
 \hline
 1,409,100 = \text{VIII Ahau } 3 \text{ Yax (9 Cauac).} \\
 111,554 \\
 \hline
 1,520,654 = \text{IX Ix } 7 \text{ Zip (3 Muluc).}
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r}
 160 \\
 1,437,020 = 5527 \times 260 \\
 \hline
 1,437,180 = \text{VIII Ahau } 18 \text{ Mol (8 Kan).} \\
 83,474 \\
 \hline
 1,520,654 = \text{IX Ix } 7 \text{ Zip (3 Muluc).}
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r}
 160 \\
 1,465,360 = 5636 \times 260 \\
 \hline
 1,465,520 = \text{VIII Ahau } 8 \text{ Uo (8 Ix).} \\
 101,812 \\
 \hline
 1,567,332 = \text{IV Eb } 5 \text{ Pop (1 Muluc).}
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r}
 160 \\
 1,532,440 = 5894 \times 260 \\
 \hline
 1,532,600 = \text{VIII Ahau } 13 \text{ Pax (9 Muluc).} \\
 34,732 \\
 \hline
 1,567,332 = \text{IV Eb } 5 \text{ Pop (1 Muluc).}
 \end{array}$$

The last record of the date of VIII Ahau seems to throw light on the date 13 Pax (page 70, column 3), which is directly above the date VIII Ahau, and which I have already mentioned in the discussion of the groups of hieroglyphs.

Indeed, it seems as if a day VIII Ahau occurred a fifth time in that passage, for in consequence of the correction made by the scribe we read here VIII Ahau 13 Yaxkin. This would

point to a year 7 Muluc, the position of which between the other four is, of course, undetermined.

If the two large numbers in the Manuscript were treated in the same way as the other large numbers, they would not be recorded at all, but instead of them there would have been two numbers belonging to the day IV Ahau and under them would have been the encircled numbers 208 and 86, or these numbers increased by a multiple of 260. This passage would then read about as follows:—

1,567,540 (IV Ahau)	1,520,740 (IV Ahau)
208 (IV Eb)	86 (IX Ix).

These two numbers for IV Ahau are equal to 6029 and 5849 Tonalamatls. If  $5549 \times 260$  be subtracted from these, the remainders are 480 and 300 Tonalamatls respectively, i. e., 124,800 and 78,000, and these are in the proportion of 8 to 5.

Now the two large numbers have the difference  $46,678 = 179 \times 260 + 138$ ; the latter is the interval from IX Ix to IV Eb.

The four numbers of the days VIII Ahau seem to stand in very irregular relation to one another and yet they show the following striking results, if the first and third and also the second and fourth numbers be combined (as I combined them under page 24):—

In the first case we see the following:—

$1,465,520 - 1,409,100 = 56,420 = 3 \times 18,980 - 520$ .  
 $3Yax (9 Cauac) \text{ to } 8 Uo (8 Ix) = 18,460 = 18,980 - 520$ .  
 $56,420 - 18,460 = 37,960 = 2 \times 18,980$ .

While in the second case:—

$1,532,600 - 1,437,180 = 95,420 = 5 \times 18,980 - 520$ .  
 $18 Mol (8 Kan) \text{ to } 13 Pax (9 Muluc) = 520$ .  
 $95,420 - 520 = 94,900 = 5 \times 18,980$ .

## 5. The Serpent.

As in the section occupying pages 61-64. the single series is crowned by four serpents with eight large numbers, so in this section the two series end in a single serpent with two numbers, one for each series, but both bear some obscure relation to the day VIII Ahau, which has made its appearance here. The two

sections also correspond, inasmuch as the numbers in both are computed not from the normal date, but from the date IX Kan 12 Kayab (4 Ix).

The serpent pictured here is different from the previous ones, inasmuch as it is partly black. The god B is sitting on its opened jaws, and this time he, too, is painted black (as on page 31c); there is an animal's head upon the god's head, in which we again recognize that of the animal with the fourth serpent in the preceding section. The god is armed with spear and shield and recalls his picture at the bottom of page 74.

There are eight hieroglyphs above this picture, just as there are over each of the first four serpents. The two top hieroglyphs are obliterated. Of the legible hieroglyphs, the one at the left top is the Bacab sign, which also occurs over the first of the four serpents. In the third line are the same two hieroglyphs, which are in the third line of the first and second columns on page 70. The first of the two also occupies the same place on page 62 above the fourth serpent. But here at the bottom we find the date IX Kan 12 Kayab (4 Ix), the same date which we found over the fourth serpent, which is thus again brought into closer connection with the single serpent.

There can be no doubt here regarding the two numbers in the serpents, but notice should be taken of the fact that the figure 1 is barely visible in the red number.

The black number here has the figures 4. 5. 19. 13. 12. 8. and the red 4. 6. 1. 0. 13. 10. The black is therefore 12,381,728, and the red 12,391,470. The black number is somewhat less than the eight numbers in the four serpents, and the red is somewhat larger than the least of them.

The difference of the two is  $9742 = 37 \times 260 + 122$ ; but 122 is the interval between days IV Eb and IX Ix. Now this is the same 9742 which we found on page 70, as the difference between 111,554 and 101,812.

In order not merely to examine these numbers, but also to understand them, we will again make use of 109 Ahau-Katuns = 12,412,920, as we did in the first four serpents, and we shall have the following:—

Black	Red
12,381,728	12,391,470
12,412,920	12,412,920
<hr/>	
$-31,192 = 119 \times 260 + 252$	$-21,450 = 82 \times 260 + 130$
IV Eb — IX Kan = 252	IX Ix — IX Kan = 130

The date given for both numbers was the day IX Kan, which was likewise the starting-point for six of the eight numbers in the previous serpents.

Besides this the day IV Eb, the starting-point of the 65-series, is given for the black number, and therefore also the interval between IV Eb and IX Kan = 252.

To this 252 was added a multiple of 260, not an arbitrary choice, but one which combined with 252 resulted in a number divisible by 8, the interval from IX Kan to IV Eb.  $31,192 = 3899 \times 8 = 119 \times 260 + 252$  was thus obtained.

The subtraction of this number from 12,412,920 resulted in the serpent number 12,381,728.

In addition to all this the day IX Ix, the starting-point of the 54-series, is given for the red number; consequently also the interval between IX Ix and IX Kan = 130, which, at the same time, is reversely the interval from IX Kan to IX Ix.

To this 130 was added a multiple of 260, which *must* in every case be a multiple also of 130. Thus we obtain the  $21,450 = 82 \times 260 + 130$ .

The subtraction of this number from 12,412,920 results in the serpent number 12,391,470.

Reckoned from the starting-point IX Kan 12 Kayab (4 Ix) the black number corresponds to the date IV Eb 5 Chen (10 Muluc) and the red to IX Ix 12 Zip (11 Kan), and these two dates must certainly have been under the serpent; the months unfortunately are effaced.

It is self evident that the black number is exactly divisible by 8 and the red by 130.

The two events indicated by the two numbers must be to some extent coincident with the beginning of the seven events recorded in the previous four serpents. These large numbers pertaining to the destruction of the world are a reminder of the

numbers, which on page 24 we believed were connected with the creation of the world. Thus here, too, we have the genesis and the apocalypse of all the mythologies.

#### 6. The Columns of Hieroglyphs.

The last portion of this section is formed by the two middle columns of hieroglyphs on page 69. They bear an extraordinary resemblance to those discussed under page 61 even in regard to the fact that each column contains 18 signs. Besides, the upper 10 lines, *i.e.*, the upper 20 signs, are exactly alike on the two pages, aside from slight variations, and differ only in so far as the passage on page 69 is written on blue ground and the one on page 61 on white.

But also the lower part, with eight signs in each column, shows many points in common with page 61. Here as there the whole is divided into several groups.

With the four signs 11ab and 12ab, which formed the first group there, I can compose only the two signs 11ab here. In the cross 11a, as on pages 24 and 58 of the Manuscript, I see the sign for 20 with the prefixed 5 making 25. In 11b we find the sign for 18,980 days, which we have already met with several times. Hence 11ab would have the value of  $25 \times 18,980 = 474,500$  days, as on page 61 the corresponding four signs seemed to form 421,940. And as the number there was  $1156 \times 365$ , so on page 69 we have  $1300 \times 365$ .

I believe there is a disarrangement in what follows, inasmuch as I assume that the two signs 12b and 13a ought to be placed *before* and not *after* 12a. Assuming that the two little crosses on either side of the 1 are meaningless, we should assign the value of 61 to the 3 Chuen, 1 Kin. Here, in the first place, the intention seems to be to establish some connection with the two days VII Kan and IV Ik specified with their numbers on page 63, column 3, as well as with the days most important there, III Chicchan and XIII Akbal, *i.e.*, a connection with the previous section of the four serpents in general; for the interval from VII Kan to III Chicchan, as well as that between IV Ik and XIII Akbal is 61 and on pages 70-73 the two most important days, IV Eb and IX Ix, are 122 days apart, and 122 is the



second multiple of 61. I can now put the 144,000 of 12a in the place of the 13a. Then, secondly, the four signs from 13a to 14b in the one section are exactly like those in the other section, and therefore need not be discussed here. Only 15ab differs from the signs in the other passages inasmuch as on page 69 we find  $4 \times 20 + 4 \times 1$ . The last 4 agrees even better than it does there with the distance from IV Ahau to the day Kan with which the serpent numeral begins.

Nothing on page 69 corresponds to the signs in 16ab and 17ab of page 61. On the contrary, the initial date of the serpent IX Kan 12 Kayab, which on page 61 does not appear until 18ab is set down in 16ab. On the other hand on page 69 the four signs 17ab and 18ab are added, 17a being a sign as yet unknown with 13 as a superfix. I feel inclined, though with many misgivings, to treat 17ab like 5a and b of page 61 and to assign to them the value of an Ahau-Katun of 113,880 days. For then they would denote the 13th Ahau-Katun, which extends from the day 1,366,560 (page 24) to 1,480,440 and which contains the two large numbers on page 70, left, top, while the two lower numbers in the first and second columns of that page belong to the 12th Ahau-Katun, and the two in the third and fourth belong to the 14th Ahau-Katun. The 13th would be the present and the 12th and 14th the past and future; but all this could only be confirmed by further research. At all events, the signs for beginning in 17b and for end in 18a refer to past and future. Unfortunately, 18b is entirely effaced.

#### Page 74.\*

Besides the picture, this page contains only 15 hieroglyphs in three horizontal rows. Only about six of these signs are decipherable. The second, third and fourth of the lower line are three different heads; the middle is the familiar head of god B, the one on the left has the Akbal eye and the abbreviated sign for the south, which is repeated in the affix; the head on the right has the sign for the west as a prefix. Very little more is to be said of the other hieroglyphs than that the second and third of the second line have the sign for the east; the first of the

\* Compare the Peresianus, page 20.

second line, however, was the one which we found on pages 71-73 as the constant companion of the Bacabs and which suggested the wind. The last sign of the second line must have contained that for north, so that the four cardinal points all came together here.

The picture begins below these signs. Astronomical figures, apparently Venus, Mars, Mercury and Jupiter, end in the fore part of a crocodile. Below the astronomical signs are the signs for the sun and moon. Streams of water are falling from the jaws of the crocodile and also from the sun and moon. And a fourth stream is being poured from a jug by the old woman with the tiger claws, and with the serpent on her head, whom we saw on pages 39, 43 and 67 engaged in the same occupation. Cross-bones are represented on her skirt as the symbol of death. The sign of the ninth day, Eb, appears on the jug; this is the day which was avoided in the Tonalamatls, for not a single Tonalamatl begins with Eb in the Dresdensis, nor does one begin with the week-day IX; does Bolon meaning nine suggest Balam, the jaguar?

Still further down on the page sits a black god, who may be the same as the god on pages 7a and 16b, with a bird of prey on his head. There are two arrows in his right hand and his left hand holds what may be an atlatl, but it is very much longer than is usually the case; at the same time it can be regarded as a spear.

This page can denote nothing but the end of the world, for which the serpent numbers have prepared the way. Perhaps what looks like a zero above the sign Eb in the stream of water may likewise point to this calamity.

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a



b



c



d



e



f



g



h



i



k



l



m



n



o



p



q



r



s



t



u



v



w

GLYPHS REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT.



EAST



NORTH



WEST



SOUTH

CARDINAL POINTS.



PAPERS  
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ANIMAL FIGURES  
IN THE  
MAYA CODICES

BY

ALFRED M. TOZZER, PH.D.

AND

GLOVER M. ALLEN, PH.D.

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## NOTE

It has been thought desirable, for the advancement of the study of Maya hieroglyphs, that the interpretation of the conventionalized animal figures, which so frequently occur in the Maya codices, should be undertaken. The Peabody Museum Committee on Central American Research therefore requested Dr. A. M. Tozzer to prepare a paper on the subject, and to secure the valuable cooperation of Dr. Glover M. Allen, a zoologist familiar with the animals of Mexico and Central America, to aid in the identification of the various species of animals which under varying forms are used in connection with the glyphs.

While it is possible that some of the determinations given in this paper may require further confirmation, it is evident that the combined studies of Dr. Tozzer and Dr. Allen cannot fail to be useful to students of the Maya hieroglyphic writing.

F. W. PUTNAM.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,  
August, 1909.

## KEY TO THE PRONUNCIATION OF MAYA WORDS

The vowels and consonants have their continental sounds with the following exceptions:—

- ā like *u* in hut
- ai like *i* in island
- k (Beltran's *c*) ordinary palatal *k*
- q (Beltran's *k*) velar *k*
- ꞑ (Beltran's *ɔ*) *ts* explosive or fortis
- ɔ (Beltran's *tz*) *ts* non-explosive
- ś (Beltran's *x*) like *sh* in hush
- ts̄ (Beltran's *ch*) like *ch* in church
- ts̄ (Beltran's *ch*) *ch* explosive
- p̄ (Beltran's *pp*) *p* explosive
- t̄ (Beltran's *th*) *t* explosive



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## INTRODUCTION.

---

The various peoples inhabiting Mexico and Central America in early pre-Columbian times were accustomed to record various events, especially in regard to their calendar and the religious ceremonials in relation to it, on long strips of skin or bark. These were usually painted on both sides and folded together like a screen. Several of these codices are still in existence from the Nahua and Zapotec areas in Mexico, but only three have come down to us from the Maya region which is included in the peninsula of Yucatan, the states of Tabasco and Chiapas in Mexico, and portions of Guatemala and Honduras. These three manuscripts are the Dresden Codex in the Royal Public Library at Dresden, the Tro-Cortesianus (formerly considered to have been two, the Troano and the Cortesianus) in the National Archaeological Museum at Madrid, and the Peresianus in the National Library at Paris. These pre-Columbian manuscripts have all been published in facsimile. (See bibliography.)

These remains of a once extensive literature show evidence not only of considerable intellectual attainments on the part of their authors but also of a high degree of artistic skill in the drawings and hieroglyphics. The frequent occurrence in these manuscripts of representations of animals showing various degrees of elaboration and conventionalization has led us to undertake the task of identifying these figures as far as possible and studying the uses and significance of the several species, a

field practically untouched.\* Förstemann in his various commentaries on the Maya codices (1902, 1903, 1906), Brinton (1895), and deRosny (1876) have only commented briefly upon this side of the study of the manuscripts. Seler (1904a) and some others have written short papers on special animals. During the preparation of this paper there has appeared a brief account by Stempell (1908) of the animals in the Maya codices. The author has, however, omitted a number of species and, as we believe, misidentified others. In making our identifications we have given the reasons for our determinations in some detail and have stated the characteristics employed to denote the several species.

We have not limited ourselves entirely to the Maya manuscripts as we have drawn upon the vast amount of material available in the stone carvings, the stucco figures, and the frescoes found throughout the Maya area. This material has by no means been exhausted in the present paper. In addition to the figures from the Maya codices and a comparatively few from other sources in the Maya region, we have introduced for comparison in a number of cases figures from a few of the ancient manuscripts of the Nahuas and the Zapotecs to the north. The calendar of these two peoples is fundamentally the same as that of the Mayas. The year is made up in the same way being composed of eighteen months of twenty days each with five days additional at the end of the year. There is therefore a more or less close connection as regards subject matter in all the pre-Columbian codices of Mexico and Central America but the manner of presentation differs among the different peoples of this region.

\*The first two parts of Dr. Seler's Treatise, "Die Tierbilder der mexikanischen und der Maya-Handschriften" published in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. 41, have appeared during the time when this paper was passing through the press. The most excellent and exhaustive treatment by Dr. Seler would seem to render the present paper unnecessary. It has seemed best, however, to continue with its publication inasmuch as its field is narrower and more space is devoted to the Maya side of the question to the exclusion of the Mexican. Dr. Seler, on the other hand, while by no means neglecting the Maya, has spent more time in explaining the Mexican figures.

## SYNOPTIC CONSIDERATION OF THE MEANING AND OCCURRENCE OF ANIMAL FORMS

Before taking up the different animals in the codices it may be well to consider some of the more common ways in which the figures occur and their connection with the surrounding figures.

**MANNER OF REPRESENTATION.** The entire body of the animal may be represented realistically or the head alone may be shown. The animal head is frequently attached to a human body. The animal may appear conventionalized to a greater or less extent and the head in turn may change in the same way until only a single characteristic of the animal remains by which to identify it as, for example, the spots of the jaguar or the feathering around the eye of the macaw. In the case of the glyphs, a term employed to designate the regular and usually square characters appearing in lines or columns throughout the codices and inscriptions, we find both the realistic drawing and that where conventionalism has come in.

**THE TONALAMATL.** The Maya codices are made up, for the most part, of the records of the sacred period of two hundred and sixty days, a period called in Nahuatl, *tonalamatl*, and other numerical calculations. The *tonalamatl* was used for purposes of divination in order to find out whether good or bad fortune was in store for an individual. It is not necessary at this place to go into the different means taken to record this period of time or its methods of use. It may be well, however, to explain the usual distribution of the pictures in the codices, including those of animals, in connection with the representation of the *tonalamatl*. A normal period is shown in

Dresden 6c-7c. A column of five day signs occurs in the middle of 6c with a single red dot over it. To the right of this column stretches a horizontal line of numbers consisting of alternate groups of black and red lines and dots. Under each pair of red and black numbers there is usually a human form and over each pair a group of four glyphs belonging to the figure below. Schellhas (1904) has classified the various figures of gods appearing in these vignettes of the *tonalamatl* and lettered them. References throughout the paper will be made to the gods by letters and the reader is referred to Schellhas' paper. Animal figures often take the place of these gods as in the second picture in Dresden 7c where the screech owl is shown with human body. The greater number of animal figures in the codices occur in some connection with these *tonalamatls*.

MYTHOLOGICAL ANIMALS. Where figures are shown with human body and animal head standing alone in the place usually occupied by one of the various deities in the *tonalamatl*, there can be little doubt that they have a mythological meaning and are to be taken, either as gods themselves, or as representing certain of the gods. All of the animals are by no means shown in this position. The screech owl, or Moan bird (as in Dresden 10a) appears most frequently in this way. The king vulture (Dresden 8a), the dog (Dresden 7a), and the parrot (Dresden 40b) come next in descending importance. The animals represented as copulating (as in Dresden 13c) might also be considered as mythological animals as well as the full drawings of the jaguar (Dresden 8a) and the other animals when they occur alone in the regular vignette of the *tonalamatl*. The four priests in Dresden 25a-28a should also be regarded as representing, in all probability, the dog as a mythological animal. The idea of worshipping animals as gods in themselves is strengthened by noting the ease with which the Maya people worshipped the horse which was left behind by Cortes in his march from Mexico across to Honduras (Villagutierre, 1701, pp. 100-101).

ASTRONOMICAL IDEAS. Animals frequently have a part to play in relation to the constellations. Throughout the codices and, to a less degree, in the stone carvings, we find what have

usually been considered to be glyphs for several of the constellations. Numerous calculations in the codices make it clear that the Mayas had a good knowledge of astronomy. These glyphs are usually oblong in shape and three or more are arranged together end to end. We have called these the constellation bands. Various attempts have been made to identify these signs of the various constellations. Animals frequently are pictured below these bands. The dog with fire brands in his paws and often attached to his tail is shown in several places coming head downward from one of these bands (as in Dresden 36a). The peccary is also shown in the same position although the fire brands do not appear (Dresden 68a). A figure with macaw head occurs once standing beneath one of these bands with fire brands in his hands (Dresden 40b). The serpent (as in Dresden 36a), the lizard-crocodile-like animal in Dresden 74, the turtle (Tro-Cortesianus 71a), the vulture (Dresden 38b), the turkey (Tro-Cortesianus 10b), and the deer (Tro-Cortesianus 47a) all appear in connection with these constellation bands. It is impossible at this time to decide upon the part these various animals play in relation to distinct constellations. In addition to the animals named, several of the gods, especially god B, are found below these bands. One of these signs, the one identified by Förstemann as standing for Saturn, is composed of the head of the crocodile more or less conventionalized.

Förstemann (1902, p. 27) identifies the turtle with the summer solstice and the snail as the animal associated with the winter solstice. There does not seem to be any one animal used in connection with any one of the cardinal points. In Tro-Cortesianus 88c the dog seems to be associated with the north as shown by the glyph which is ordinarily regarded as connected with that direction, the ape with the west, and an unidentifiable bird sitting on a *Cimi* (death) sign with the south. The east is connected in this place with a human figure. It should be stated, however, that it is not absolutely certain that the usual assignment of the cardinal points, each to its special direction, is correct. The signs for the east and west as well as those for the north and south may be reversed. With the ex-



ception of the assignment of the offering-glyphs to the various cardinal points which will be discussed later (p. 290) this is almost the only case where a clear relation can be made out between the various animals and the signs for the four directions. There is no definite relation as is seen, for example, in the Vaticanus 3773, 17, 18 where the quetzal is noted perched on the tree of the east, the eagle on that of the north, the humming bird on that of the west, and the jaguar on the tree of the south.

**COPULATION.** The conception, the period of pregnancy, the infant baptism, and possibly, the naming of children are shown in both the Tro-Cortesianus (91-95) and the Dresden (13-23). Animals are frequently shown copulating with various gods or with one another. In Dresden 13c, the deer and god M and the vulture and the dog; in 19c, the vulture and a woman; in Tro-Cortesianus 91d, a god and a woman; and in 92d, an armadillo and a deer both with female figures. These animals probably represent in some way the totems of the man or woman in question and are shown in place of the human figure. The Lacandonese, a Maya people, show at the present time the remains of a totemic system (Tozzer, 1907, pp. 40-42). The deer (*Ke*) gens is found at the present time. In the greater number of cases where copulation is shown a god and a female figure are pictured. The presentation of the new-born children by women with bird head-dresses, also occurring in this same section of both manuscripts, is discussed later (p. 291).

**ANIMAL SACRIFICES.** Various ceremonies occurring at intervals throughout the Maya year which included sacrifices to the gods, evidently took up a large part of the time of the people. Animals composed by far the major part of the gifts made to the gods. This was especially true in regard to the ceremonies occurring at the beginning of each year. According to the Maya calendar there were four days only which could come at the beginning of the year and these came in succession. Landa (1864, pp. 210-233), the first Bishop of Yucatan, gives a minute description of the rites of the four years which were named according to the initial day. He also relates the manner in which the various animals are employed as offer-

ings in these rites and also in others taking place at the beginning of the various months.\*

The rites which took place at the beginning and the end of the year are shown in Dresden 25-28 and in Tro-Cortesianus 34-37. The dog, the deer, and the turkey are the most important of the animals shown as being offered to the gods in this connection. It will not be necessary to consider these animals in detail at this place as they are each taken up later.

**OFFERINGS SHOWN BY GLYPHS.** It is, however, in another connection than that just considered that the animals are shown as offerings far more frequently throughout the Maya manuscripts. In the ceremonies of the four years, the animals and birds are, for the most part, represented entire and purely as pictures. Offerings are also shown in the form of glyphs. These may occur in connection with the figures of the gods or in the lines of hieroglyphs above the pictures. When they are used in the former relation they are usually shown as resting in a bowl or dish (Dresden 35a). It frequently happens that when a god is making an offering represented by the entire animal or a glyph of the animal in the main picture, there is a corresponding glyph of the offering above in the line of hieroglyphics (Dresden 23b).

The fish, iguana, turkey, deer and possibly the lizard

\* p. 162. "Las mugeres no usavan destos derraammamientos, aunque eran harto saunteras; mas de todas las cosas que aver podian que son aves del cielo, animales de la tierra, o pescados de la agua, siempre les embadurnavan los rostros al demonio con la sangre dellos."

p. 164. "Y otras cosas que tenian ofrecian; a algunos animales les sacavan el corazon y lo ofrecian, a otros enteros, unos vivos, otros muertos, unos crudos, otros guisados . . . . Que sin las fiestas en las quales, para la solemnidad de ellas, se sacrificavan animales, tambien por alguna tribulacion o necesidad."

p. 254. "Tenian buscados todos animales y savandijas del campo que podian aver y en la tierra avia, y con ellos se juntavan en el patio del templo en el qual se ponian los *Chaqués* . . . . Sacavan con liberalidad los coraçones a las aves y animales, y echavanlos a quemar en el fuego; y sino podian aver los animales grandes como tigres, leones o largartos, hazian los coraçones de su encenso, y si los matavan trayanles los coraçones para aquel fuego."

are the usual animals shown as glyphs in this connection. The frigate bird occurs once in the Dresden (35a) and once in the Tro-Cortesianus (34a) as an offering. The dog, curiously enough, does not seem to be represented by an offering-glyph although he has a glyph of his own when appearing in other connections. The iguana and fish are shown entire although drawn very small; the head is the only part usually shown of the turkey and the haunch of venison of the deer. The head and feet of the lizard, as has been noted, may also be shown by a glyph. The turkey and iguana glyphs are very often found with a *Kan* sign indicating an offering of maize and bread as well as that of the animal. In connection with glyphs showing various offerings of food, there is one which occurs especially in the Tro-Cortesianus (as in 106a). This shows a row of points themselves running to a point over a *Kan* sign. This, as will be pointed out later (p. 318) may also represent an iguana. The jar containing a representation of the honey comb (as in Tro-Cortesianus 107b) might come in here in the consideration of the offering-glyphs.

In many instances the common offerings shown by glyphs are found associated with the signs for the four cardinal points but there does not seem to be any strict uniformity as to the special offering associated with each direction. In Dresden 29b, the lizard glyph is found in the same group with the sign commonly assigned to the east, the turkey with the south, the iguana with the west, and the fish with the north while in Dresden 29c, the deer is associated with the east, the fish with the south, the iguana with the west, and the turkey with the north. The iguana is usually found with the sign for the west and the fish with that of the south. The others vary greatly in the assignment of the various directions.

Schellhas (1904, p. 17) considers that the fish, the lizard, "the sprouting kernel of maize or (according to Förstemann, parts of a mammal, game)" and a vulture's head are symbols of the four elements. The head which Schellhas interprets as that of the vulture is certainly the head of a turkey. He remarks that these signs of the four elements appear with god B in the

Dresden manuscript. Other gods, as he also notes, are found with these four offering-glyphs. There seems to be a fifth glyph, however, (as in Dresden 29b) which we have interpreted as that of a lizard.

**ANIMALS AS RAIN BEARERS.** Various animals are associated with the rain and water. The serpent is most frequently represented in this connection. Snails, fish, the turtle, and the frog, as well as the lizard-crocodile figure in Dresden 74 are naturally found associated with water. The vulture-headed figure in Dresden 38b and the vulture as a bird in Tro-Cortesianus 10a both appear in the rain. The peccary (Dresden 68a), and the turkey (Tro-Cortesianus 10b) appear associated with the rain as well as with the constellation bands. The scorpion (Tro-Cortesianus 7a) encloses the rain within its legs.

The connection of an old female figure occurring in many places in the codices with the rain will be discussed later (p. 316) when considering the serpent. It remains at this place to comment upon the woman in Tro-Cortesianus 30b from whose breasts water is flowing. She is represented as having animal figures seated on her two outstretched hands and on her right foot together with another animal at her side. God B sits on her left foot. This picture immediately recalls representations in the Mexican codices where the various parts of the body of a god are associated with various day signs, ten of which have animal names. In the Maya picture, a jaguar is shown on the right hand, a peccary on the left, a dog on the right foot, and a rabbit beside the body at her right. The peccary is not represented among the Nahua day signs but the other three are found, namely the *occolotl* (jaguar), *itzcuintli* (dog), and *tochtli* (rabbit).

**ANIMAL HEAD-DRESSES.** Animal figures appear perhaps most frequently as head-dresses of the various gods in the codices. Here, as elsewhere, from all that can be made out, the religious character is uppermost as in addition to being a decoration, they undoubtedly have some religious signification. Birds occur by far most commonly in this connection. Both male and female figures seems to have these head-dresses. The

same bird is often found as the head-dress of several different gods as, for example, the turkey which appears with gods A, B, C, E, and N. The vulture, on the other hand, when used as a head-dress for male figures, appears exclusively with god F. The whole bird is seldom represented on the head-dress of the male figures. It is usually only the head and a part of the body of the bird which forms but a portion of the whole head-covering. Landa (1864, p. 148)\* notes the dress of the leader in the rites. He wears a jacket of red feathers worked with other feathers and from it hang long plumes. He also wears a feather head-dress.

Entire birds appear as the sole head-covering only in connection with female figures and then only in one section of the Dresden (16-18) and a parallel passage in the Tro-Cortesianus (94-95). In both these places the conception and the bearing of children are shown together with their baptism. The bird above the head of each female figure seems to be a badge of office, possibly the totems which are held by the women and given to the children. The parrot, quetzal, vulture, screech owl and the horned owl appear in this connection. It is to be noted that the birds associated with these women are not really represented as head-dresses at all. They are quite different from the head decoration composed of a bird's head and feathers seen in other parts of the manuscripts. In the Dresden especially, these birds above the women's heads are shown in almost every case standing with the claws clasping the necklace at the back of the neck. Landa (1864, pp. 144-154) gives an interesting account of the method of baptising children. He also states (p. 304)† that in the month *Yaxkin* an old woman brought the little girls to the general feast. This old woman

\* "Vestido salia con un jaco de pluma colorado y labrado de otras plumas de colores, y que le cuelgan de los extremos otras plumas largas y una como coraza en la cabeza de las mismas plumas."

† "Y a las niñas se les dava una vieja, vestida de un habito de plumas, que las traia alli y por esto la llamavan *Ixmol*, la allegadera. . . . Aquella devota vieja allegaria con que se emborachava en casa por no perder la pluma del officio en el camino."

was dressed in a garment of feathers. It was understood that this devoted old woman was not permitted to become intoxicated\* lest she should lose in the road the plume of her office.

The serpent appears as a head-dress exclusively with female figures and then usually when the woman is in the act of offering something or is associated with water or rain. The centipede occurs only with god D. Quadrupeds are employed as head-dresses only very seldom. The head of a deer is, in three places, used as a part of the head decoration of god M and the head of a jaguar appears in two places only.

SECULAR OCCUPATIONS. Animals appear frequently in scenes showing various occupations. These, although appearing at first sight as secular, have to do with the religion of the people and they show in every case acts undertaken in behalf of the deities. It is almost exclusively in the Tro-Cortesianus that these religious-secular occupations are shown.

Hunting scenes occur in one section of this codex (38-49). The whole aim of the hunt in these pages is to obtain animals for sacrifice. In almost every case the various animals are shown as being captured alive, either in a pitfall or a trap of the "jerk-up" type. This was undoubtedly in order that the animal might be killed the moment it was offered to the gods by having its heart cut out. Deer are most commonly represented in this hunting section although peccaries and armadillos also appear. Fishing is shown in one place at least (Dresden 33a).

The practice of agriculture is shown in Tro-Cortesianus 24-28. The sprouting grain is represented as being eaten by a vulture and a jaguar. Certain gods in this section which relates to the planting of maize are shown as being attacked by vultures and blow-flies. Another occupation of the natives depicted in the Tro-Cortesianus (103-112) is apiculture. This, again, has clearly some religious significance. Pottery-making is shown in the same manuscript (95-101). It is, however, a purely religious ceremony. The renewal of the incense-burners is shown.

\* "Intoxication was obligatory with the men in many of the religious rites. This is reported by the early Spanish historians and is the case at the present time among the Lacandones." (See Tozzer, 1907, p. 136.)

Animals occur very infrequently in this section. The quetzal and two vultures are noted seated on top of an oven-like covering under which is the head of god C, probably representing the idol. There are several other occupations shown in this codex such as weaving (79e) and the gathering of the sap of the rubber tree (102b), but as animals do not occur in any connection with these operations, it is not necessary to dwell upon them.

**ANIMAL GLYPHS.** It remains finally to speak of the various animals which are represented in glyph form as well as drawn in full in the pictures proper. The creatures pictured in the codices are often accompanied by their glyphs which appear in the lines of signs directly above. In many cases, the animal pictured below is not represented by its glyph above and, vice versa, the animal glyph may appear without its picture below. The same is seen also in connection with the representation of the gods and their glyphs. Both the picture and the glyph usually appear but either may appear alone. Many times when the glyph, either of a god or an animal, is shown with no accompanying picture, the reason seems to be that there is no room for the latter on account of the numerical calculations which take up all the space.

There are some animals in the codices which are represented by glyphs very frequently. Among these are the screech owl (the Moan, the bird of death), which has several different glyphs by which it is recognized, the dog which, in addition to its own glyph, may be represented by the day sign *Oc*, the king vulture, the turtle, the bee (if we consider the day sign *Cauac* stands for this insect), and the centipede. Among the animals whose glyphs only seldom appear may be mentioned the macaw, the peccary, the tree-toad (god P), the quetzal, and the jaguar. The glyph for the black vulture (Tro-Cortesianus 26c), the ape (Tro-Cortesianus 88c), the deer (Peresianus 10), the eagle (Tro-Cortesianus 107c), and the serpent (Tro-Cortesianus 106c) seem to appear but once. It might also be well to mention in this place the glyphs for various molluscs which are used not to represent the shell but to give the value of zero to the numerical calculations.

In the inscriptions glyphs frequently occur which represent animals either showing the whole body or simply the head. In the eastern façade of the Monjas at Chichen Itza there are glyphs for both the king and the black vulture and the peccary. The macaw and the turtle seem also to be represented by glyphs in the inscriptions. The *Tun* period glyph shows vulture-like characteristics and the *Uinal* period glyph certainly resembles the lizard. The glyphs representing the various animal offerings have already been discussed under a special heading (p. 289).



## II

### ZOOLOGICAL IDENTIFICATION AND ETHNOLOGICAL EXPLANATION OF ANIMAL FORMS.

In the descriptions of the animals which follow the general plan will be to consider first the identification purely from a zoological point of view, and, secondly, the connection and, wherever possible, the meaning of the use of the various animal figures wherever they occur.

#### MOLLUSCA

**FASCIOLARIA GIGANTEA.** Representations of this marine shell are found in several places in the codices. It is the only large *Fusus*-like species on the western coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and, indeed, is the largest known American shell. It is therefore not strange that it should have attracted the attention of the Mayas and found a place in their writings. Several figures are shown that represent *Fasciolaria* (Pl. 1, figs. 1-9). One in the Codex Vaticanus 3773 (Pl. 1, fig. 3) in common with those shown in Pl. 1, figs. 2, 6, 9, has the spire represented by segments of successively smaller size. The species of *Fasciolaria* occurring on the Yucatan and adjacent coasts is characterized by numerous prominent bosses or projections on its later whorls, and these, too, appear in conventionalized form in most of the representations. In Pl. 1, fig. 2, the second whorl, and in figs. 6, 9, the third whorl is shown with three stout tubercles in side view, corresponding to those found in this region of the shell. Figs. 7, 8 (Pl. 1) are glyphs representing the same species, but as in fig. 4, the spire is omitted, though the knobs are present. Round spots of color are evidently intended by the markings on the shells shown in figs. 3, 5, 6 (Pl. 1).

Fig. 5, shows a further modification of the spire, which here is made like the head of a serpent.

The *Mollusca* in the codices are not always associated with the water although this is usually the case. God N (Pl. 1, fig. 1) sitting with the shell around his body is represented as in the rain and the shells in Pl. 1, figs. 4, 6, appear under water. The snail (Maya, *šot*) is considered by the Nahuas as the symbol of birth and death. The first idea is well brought out in Pl. 1, fig. 2, where the human figure is emerging from a shell. The same idea among the Mayas is seen in Pl. 1, fig. 1, where god N is coming from a shell. As god N is usually associated with the end of the year, we may have here the complementary idea of death associated with the shell. The same meaning is brought out in the Bologna Codex (Pl. 1, fig. 3) where the shell is decorated with flint points, the symbol of death. As the tortoise is often identified with the summer solstice, as previously pointed out, so the snail is associated with the winter solstice.

Förstemann's identification of the head-dress of god D (Dresden 5c), god A (Dresden 9c, 13a), and god E (Dresden 11c) as representing snails is not clear. Stempell (1908, p. 739) also follows the same course thinking that the knob-like prominences represent the stalked eyes of snails. This seems quite unlikely as such representations are usually short and occur in too widely dissimilar connections. Moreover, there are sometimes three of these instead of but a single pair (Dresden 14a). A similar attempt has been made by Brinton to identify the head-dress of the death god (god A) as the snail. The head-dress in Dresden 13a and 13b associated with god A looks far more like the head and upper jaw of some mammal.

OLIVA. A univalve shell frequently represented is of an oval shape, pointed at each end, with a longitudinal lip and a short spire at one extremity. This is doubtless a species of *Oliva*, a marine shell. Mr. Charles W. Johnson informs us that *O. reticulata* is the species occurring on the Yucatan shores, while *O. splendidula* is found in other parts of the Gulf of Mexico. Representations of this shell are shown in Pl. 1, figs. 10-12. In figs. 10, 11, the lip and spire are apparent but in fig. 12 the lip

only is seen as a white fissure against the general dark background. An earthenware vessel representing a tapir (Pl. 28, fig. 1) shows a string of *Olivæ* shells about the animal's neck and similar strings very often decorate the belts worn by the personages represented on the stelae of Copan.

The shell in the codices is found in most cases to represent zero in the Maya numerical calculations. Just as a bar has the meaning five, and a dot one, so the shell often has the signification of zero. This is seen especially in the numeration by position in the codices (Pl. 1, figs. 7, 8, 10-14).

OTHER MOLLUSCA. In addition to the species just described at least two or three others occur in the Nuttall Codex, but so conventionalized that it is out of the question to hazard a guess at their identity. One (Pl. 1, figs. 16, 17) is a bivalve with long pointed shell, another (Pl. 1, figs. 18-20) is rounder with conventionalized scroll-like markings. Figs. 21, 22 (Pl. 1) may be a side view of the closed bivalve shown in figs. 16, 17, or possibly a species of cowry. In like manner, fig. 13 is probably a side view of the mollusc shown in fig. 14, for it is seen that in each case the figure showing the two opened valves has a bipartite extended foot, whereas that of the single valve is simple. This doubling of the single median foot of the bivalve may be an artistic necessity for the sake of balance, or perhaps represents both foot and siphon at the same end. Figs. 23, 24 (Pl. 1) seem to represent molluscs still further reduced and conventionalized. These molluscs from the Nuttall Codex (Pl. 1, figs. 15-24) are almost all found represented in the blue water, whereas those which stand for zero in the Maya codices have no immediate association with either water or rain.

## INSECTA

THE HONEY BEE (*Melipona*). A portion of the Tro-Cortesianus appears to treat of apiculture, as previously noted, or, at all events, contains numerous figures of bees, some of which are shown in Pl. 2. As stated by Stempell (1908, p. 735) this is doubtless a species of *Melipona*, probably *M. fulvipes* or *do-*

*mestica*. It is well known that this bee was kept by the ancient Mexicans, and what appear to be improvised hives are shown in Pl. 2, figs. 7, 10, where the combs are noted depending from the ceiling or walls. These combs are seen to be composed of cells roughly four-sided for the most part, though in fig. 11 several hexagonal cells are present in the mass of comb held by the black god, M. Darwin, in his *Origin of Species*, has called attention to the form of the comb built by this bee, and considers its irregular cells of from three to six sides intermediate in their degree of perfection between those of the bumble bee (*Bombus*) and the honey bee of Europe (*Apis mellifica*). The *Caban* form in connection with the hive in fig. 10 may have some phonetic significance as *kab* is honey in Maya. This sign occurs very frequently in the pages devoted to apiculture.

The figures of the bees in the codex show a number of interesting variations. In figs. 1-3, 5, 11, the insect is less conventionalized than in figs. 4, 6 (Pl. 2). The hairy feet are well indicated as well as the segmented body and a single pair of wings. All the figures show an anterodorsal view so that, on account of the size of the first pair of legs, only the tops of the second pair appear in Pl. 2, figs. 1, 3, 5. In fig. 2, however, two pairs are seen, and in figs. 4, 6, the anthropomorphic tendency is further shown by providing the insect with two pairs of limbs each with four or five digits, and a conventionalized face, eyes and mouth. In Pl. 2, fig. 1, the bee is represented without mouthparts but antennae only. This may indicate a drone or a queen bee that takes no active part in the work of gathering honey or making comb. Fig. 2 is perhaps the least reduced of any of the figures and shows the worker bee with antennae and mouthparts.

The so-called "cloud balls" of the day sign *Cauac* (Pl. 2, fig. 8) may represent the honey comb. *Cauac* is usually supposed to have some connection with lightening and thunder although Valentini agrees with the authors in associating *Cauac* with the bees and honey. The *Cauac*-like forms in Pl. 2, figs. 7, 10, have been described above as hives. The representation of legs in the full drawing of a bee as four large limbs, an anterior and a

posterior pair, coupled with the method of drawing the insect as seen from above and in front, may have led to its final expression by an X-shaped mark shown in connection with the hives (Pl. 2, figs. 7, 10). The X is also seen in the day sign *Cauac*.

Apiculture was common among the various peoples of Central America and Mexico. Las Casas speaks of hives of bees and Gomara states that the bees were small and the honey rather bitter. Clavigero (Vol. I, p. 68)\* mentions six varieties of bees which were found in Mexico;—the first is the same as the common bee of Europe, the second differs from the first only in having no sting and is the bee of Yucatan and Chiapas which makes the fine clear honey of aromatic flavor. The third species resembles in its form the winged ants but is smaller than the common bee and without a sting. The fourth is a yellow bee, smaller than the common one but, like it, furnished with a sting. The fifth is a small bee without a sting which constructs hives of an orbicular form in subterranean cavities and the honey is sour and somewhat bitter. The *Tlalpiolli*, which is the sixth species, is black and yellow, of the size of the common bee, but has no sting.

The natives of the country at the present time often cultivate hives of bees in logs which they hollow out for this purpose and keep in a specially constructed shelter. It is, however, rather the ceremonial side of apiculture that is the interesting feature and this is clearly emphasized in the Tro-Cortesianus. The section in this manuscript (80b, 103-112), as has been noted, is taken up almost exclusively with the culture of the bee and in all probability represents a definite religious ceremony or series of rites which are connected intimately with bees and honey. Landa (1864, p. 292)† states that in the month *Tzoz* the natives prepare for a ceremony in behalf of the bees which takes place in the following month, *Tzec*. In the month *Mol* another fiesta is undertaken in behalf of these insects so that

\* Quoted in Thomas, 1882, pp. 115, 116.

† "En el mes de *Tzoz* se aparejavan los señores de las colmenares para celebrar su fiesta en *Tzec*."

the gods may provide an abundance of flowers for the bees (Landa, 1864, p. 306).\*

It seems clear therefore that we have represented in the pages of the Tro-Cortesianus referred to, the rites carried out in this connection. The more or less realistic drawings of the bees (Pl. 2, figs. 1-6,9) represent the god of the bees and to him offerings of food and incense are being made. Pl. 2, fig. 11, shows the war god (M) with his eagle head-dress offering a mass of honey in the comb to the god of the bees.

Curiously enough the bee does not seem to be represented in the Dresden Codex. Förstemann's identification of the head-dress of the goddess in Dresden 9a as a bee does not seem to us to be correct.

In addition to the bees, there occurs in the Nuttall Codex 4 (Pl. 3, fig. 4) a curious representation of an insect with a pointed beak-like structure and a spine at the posterior extremity of its human-like body. It is engaged in apparent conflict with a man and may represent a hornet.

BLOW-FLY (*Sarcophaga*). Two figures in the Tro-Cortesianus (Pl. 3, figs. 1, 2) are of special interest since they appear to have been frequently regarded as picturing snakes attacking men. These are thick-bodied sinuous creatures distinguished by the curious conformation of the mouth and by a lateral row of dots that may represent the metamerie spiracles or, as commonly, a demarcation between dorsal and ventral surfaces. That these are maggots of a blow-fly (*Sarcophaga*) there can be little doubt, not only on account of their mouthparts which are similar to those of the agave maggot (see later) but also because of their relation to God F whom they are devouring. The latter in fig. 1 is doubtless dead as shown by the closed eye and it is the habit of the blow-fly to deposit its eggs in the nasal cavity of dead animals as well as elsewhere on the body. The fact that in each case a maggot is attacking the god's nose may indicate that this habit was known to the artist who, consequently,

\* "En este mes (*Moł*) tornavan los colmenares a hazer otra fiesta como la que hizieron en Tzer, para que los dioses proveessen de flores a las avejas."

shows the larvae in this position. In Pl. 3, fig. 2, the god's eye is not closed but his passive attitude while the maggot devours his hand and nose does not indicate that he is in full possession of his strength. In addition to the blow-fly, a screw-fly (*Chrysomya*) lays its eggs on the bodies of animals, often on persons sleeping, and these may hatch almost at once into small maggots that penetrate the skin. It may be, therefore, that the larvae here considered belong to this genus.

In addition to god F, in Tro-Cortesianus 24d, there is another representation of the same god being attacked by a vulture. This bird is evidently eating his nose. In this case the god is shown with the closed eye as in 27d. In Tro-Cortesianus 25d the fly seems to be attacking the mouth of god F. From the fact that no other god is ever found in this connection it may be suggested that there may be some relation between god F as a god of human sacrifice and the fact that his dead body is being eaten by blow-flies and vultures. A portion of the body of the person sacrificed was usually eaten by those taking part in the ceremony.

**LEPIDOPTEROUS INSECTS.** In Tro-Cortesianus 28c (Pl. 3, fig. 3) is shown a second insect larva with curiously formed mouth parts. It is represented as attacking agave which is springing from the ground as shown by the *Caban* signs in the codex. Hough (1908, p. 591) has shown this to be the larva of *Acentrocne mellari* Felder, "called by the Mexicans *guson*, and in Nahuatl *mescuillin*." This grub, he says, is white, about an inch long, and tunnels the fleshy leaves of the agave. It is greatly prized as an article of food for "*gusones* to this day are collected in April, boiled, wrapped in the epidermis of the agave, sold on the streets of Mexico, and are eaten with avidity. To all appearances they are nourishing and palatable, and it is said that connoisseurs prefer them to oysters or swallows' nests." Hough believes "that the discovery of the sap-yielding quality of the agave was through search for these larvae."

In the Nuttall Codex occur numerous representations of insects, some of which appear to represent butterflies or moths (Pl. 3, figs. 5-8) but these are quite unidentifiable. That shown

in fig. 6 is colored blue in the original, while the others are of various colors. Possibly the round markings on the wings in figs. 5, 8, represent the ocelli on the wings of certain species of moths. In this connection, too, it is interesting to compare the conventionalized butterfly with its single eye and pointed antennae from the Aubin manuscript (Pl. 3, fig. 9) with one drawn on the same plan from the Nuttall Codex (Pl. 3, fig. 8).

### MYRIAPODA

Representations of a centipede (probably a species of *Scolopendra*) occur in the Dresden Codex and in several others examined. That shown in Pl. 5, fig. 1, from the Vaticanus 3773, is perhaps the least conventionalized.\* This figure appears partly to encircle a temple, behind which the major portion of its length is hidden and hence is not here shown. The bipartite structure coming from the animal's head doubtless represents the mouthparts, and at its base on either side arise antennae. The first pair only of legs is shown with a pinching claw, possibly intended as a conventionalized hand, while the rest are simple. The plumes decorating the posterior extremity are of course extraneous and represent the tail of the quetzal or trogon.

In the Dresden Codex, god D constantly appears in connection with a head-dress from which depends a centipede, greatly reduced and conventionalized. Two forms of this centipede are shown in Pl. 3, figs. 15, 18. The body appears to consist of four or five segments each with its pair of ambulatory appendages (though there may not always be the same number of each) terminated by a circular segment with a conventionalized three-knobbed structure, apparently corresponding to the portion that bears the quetzal plume in Pl. 5, fig. 1. The outline of the head in Pl. 3, fig. 15, is shown in dotted line but by solid line in fig. 18. One of the antennae appears to be omitted from the former figure, also, but both are present in the latter. The

\* Strebel (1899, Pl. 11) gives several realistic reproductions of the centipede from pottery fragments.



insect-like head is made on much the same plan as that of the bee (Pl. 2, fig. 11), the facial portion divided by a median line into a right and a left half with a small triangle below for a mouth. The eyes, however, instead of being circular like those of the bee are made as narrow elongated projections extending inward from the dorsal margin of the facial disc.

The glyphs for god D in Dresden 7b (Pl. 3, fig. 11), Dresden 7c, and Dresden 14b (Pl. 3, fig. 12) undoubtedly show three forms of the sign for god D, only one of which (fig. 12) is given by Schellhas (1904, p. 22) among the signs of this god. In each of these cases the centipede head surrounded by dots is shown in connection with the main part of the glyph. In Dresden 44b (Pl. 3, fig. 13) there is a glyph which seems to show the same centipede head although it has no connection with god D in the place where it is found. In Dresden 27 (Pl. 3, fig. 14), moreover, still another variant of the glyph for god D seems to occur. This shows a prefix clearly representing the centipede and the "moon sign" is the main part of the glyph. Directly beside this in the codex is found the *Ahau*-like sign for god D and god D himself is represented in the middle section of the page.

The association of god D with the centipede may be explained by the fact that as this god is regarded as the Moon or Night god, so the centipede is an animal which frequents dark places. Another point in this connection may be made if we consider the head of the centipede in the head-dress and in the glyphs as representing the day sign *Akbal* (Pl. 3, fig. 10) as *Akbal* in Maya means night. It must be admitted, however, that the head might represent the day sign *Chuen* almost as well as *Akbal*. The centipede is connected with death and destruction in the same way as the owl. Both are shown in Vaticanus 3773, 13, associated with the "house of drought."

## CRUSTACEA

With one possible exception no crustaceans were found depicted in the Maya codices, but we have introduced figures of two from the Nuttall Codex. The first of these

(Pl. 4, fig. 5) is probably a crayfish, perhaps *Cambarus montezumae*. It seems unlikely that the so-called Spanish lobster (*Palinurus*) can be intended or the powerful spined antennae would have been shown. It is interesting to note that the stalked eyes are clearly pictured. The second example seems to be a crab (Pl. 4, fig. 6). Two large chelae of nearly equal size are simply drawn and four rounded projections at the top of the figure appear to represent the walking legs. Its rotund form and subequal chelae suggest the land crab, *Geocarcinus*, but exact determination is of course impossible. What is certainly a large crab, perhaps of the same species, is shown in Tro-Cortesianus 88c (Pl. 36, fig. 1) in connection with a dog whose feet it seems about to pinch with its two large chelae. The shell is ornamented in a conventionalized way as if with scales.

#### ARACHNIDA

In Codex Borbonicus 9 (Pl. 4, fig. 4) there is represented a stout-bodied form of spider with two sharply pointed chelicerae projecting from the conventionalized mouth. These characteristics together with the absence of any web, suggest a large predacious species, probably the tarantula (*Tarantula* sp.) which is common in Mexico. The acute powers of observation shown by the artist are evinced in this figure since he draws the spider correctly with eight legs instead of the six or ten sometimes seen in drawings by our own illustrators.

#### ARACHNOIDEA

The scorpion (Maya, *sinaan*) figures prominently in the Tro-Cortesianus, two drawings from which are shown (Pl. 4, figs. 1, 2). As here conventionalized, the jointed appendages are represented as composed of an indefinite number of round segments. The large chelate pedipalps are also prominently figured but the smaller walking legs are commonly omitted. In Pl. 4, fig. 1, however, there is a pair of posterior chelate appendages which are probably added to give a more

anthropoid cast to the figure. The slight projections along the sides of the body in Pl. 4, fig. 2, probably do not represent the legs. In another drawing (Tro-Cortesianus 44b) these are also present but further reduced so as not to exceed the heavy fringe of spines surrounding the body. In Pl. 4, fig. 1, the fringe alone appears. The formidable nature of the scorpion is of course due to the poisonous sting at the tip of the attenuated abdomen or "tail." In the Maya pictures this portion is usually shown as a grasping organ. Thus in fig. 1 it is similar to the chela and holds a cord by which a deer has been caught. In fig. 2 the "tail" is terminated by a hand. The same thing is seen in Tro-Cortesianus 44b where the hand seizes a cord by which a deer is snared. The scorpion is represented in the drawings with a conventionalized face that is very characteristic. The facial disc is divided into three parts by a median area of straight or irregular lateral boundaries ending anteriorly in two in-turned scrolls suggesting the alae of the nose. A circular eye is present in each of the lateral divisions of the face while from the oral region projects a forked tongue.

It is of course hazardous to attempt a specific identification of these figures but, as pointed out by Stempell (1908, p. 739), there are two large scorpions in Yucatan (*Centruroides margaritatus* and *C. gracilis*) which are probably the species pictured in the codices.

The representations of the scorpion in the Tro-Cortesianus are almost always associated with scenes of the hunt. As the deer is caught in a trap so Förstemann considers that Pl. 4, fig. 1, shows a trap with five appliances, the "tail" one alone being effective. Brinton (1895, p. 75) notes that the Mayas applied the term *sinaan ek*, "scorpion stars" to a certain constellation and suggests that it was derived from the Spaniards. There is certainly some association between the scorpion and water as, in Tro-Cortesianus 7a, the fore and hind legs of the animal enclose a body of water. The scorpion "tail" alone appears in Tro-Cortesianus 31a and 82a as the tail of a god. Its significance is difficult to make out. Destruction is indicated by the scorpion in the Aubin manuscript as suggested by Seler (1900-1901, p. 71).

In the Nuttall Codex there is a remarkably beautiful conventionalization of a scorpion (Pl. 4, fig. 3) in which the tripartite nature of the head is still preserved though it is so reduced as to resemble the calyx of a flower. The "tail", as elsewhere, and the legs are present.

### PISCES

Figures of fish (*Maya kai*) occur commonly in the Maya codices in various connections as well as in the stone carvings, but none of these seems certainly identifiable. Among the representations, however, there are clearly several species. One (Pl. 5, figs. 2, 6, 7-9; Pl. 6, fig. 9) has a single dorsal fin, powerful teeth, and a generally ferocious aspect and may represent some large predacious variety, perhaps a tunny. The distinct operculum in most of the figures would preclude their representing a shark. Other figures picture similar fish without the prominent teeth (Pl. 5, fig. 4, 5; Pl. 6, figs. 2, 6, 10, 13). In two cases the scales are diagrammatically shown by straight or concentric lines (Pl. 5, fig. 4, 8). A third species of fish is shown provided with two dorsal fins (Pl. 6, figs. 3, 11; Pl. 7, fig. 6, the last an excellent stone carving). Others (Pl. 6, figs. 7, 14-17) represent fishes without dorsal fins, one of which (fig. 7) from its length may be an eel, possibly *Muraena*.

In the Nuttall Codex occurs a remarkable fish with an unmistakable wing arising just behind the head nearly at the dorsal line. While this may represent a flying fish (*Exocetus*), the head is so bird-like that the whole may be merely a combination figure.

Of frequent occurrence in the Dresden is a glyph, two modifications of which are here shown (Pl. 6, figs. 4, 5). Stempell suggests that the vertical lines on the posterior portion of such figures may be gill slits and that hence they may represent sharks in which these orifices are without an operculum.

As with the molluscs, so with the fish, we naturally find them usually associated with the water. This may be seen especially well in the Nuttall Codex. In Dresden 33a (Pl. 6

fig. 13) the fish is clearly associated with the operation of fishing as two figures are seated on the edge of a body of water in the act of casting a net. An eel is shown in the water under god B in Dresden 65b (Pl. 6, fig. 7) and fish are shown just below the claws of a crocodile in text figure 1. In Dresden 44a god B holds a fish in his hands. As will be pointed out later (p. 314) this god is frequently associated with water. In Dresden 44c a fish appears between god B and an unidentifiable deity. In the Maya codices the greater number of representations of fish are in connection with sacrifice. In Dresden 27 (Pl. 6, fig. 6) the fish is pictured resting on two *Kan* signs, the symbol of maize or bread, and these in turn on a flat bowl. In Dresden 29b (Pl. 5, fig. 9) the fish is represented between the red and black numbers of the *tonalamall*. Here again the fish is shown as an offering.

In two cases only do we find the fish used as a part of the head-dress and in each case the fish is graphically shown as held in the mouth of a heron. One of these is in the Dresden Codex 36b (Pl. 5, fig. 3) and one in the stone carving of the Temple of the Cross at Palenque (Pl. 15, fig. 5). Fish are often represented on the stone carvings as feeding upon a water plant. This is seen in the border at the bottom of the Lower Chamber of the Temple of the Tigers at Chichen Itza (Pl. 5, figs. 2, 4; Pl. 6, fig. 2). In several instances at Copan fish are shown as forming the sides of the Great Cycle glyph at the beginning of an Initial Series (Pl. 6, figs. 14-17). It has often been suggested that as the word fish in Maya is *kai* (usually written *cay*), there may be some phonetic significance here, combining the fish, *kai*, with the usually drum-like sign for stone, *tun*, making *kai tun* or *katun*. This is the term usually given not to the Great Cycle but to the period composed of twenty *tuns* and is probably derived from *kal* meaning twenty and *tun*, a stone.

## AMPHIBIA

FROGS. Figures undoubtedly representing frogs (Maya *mutš* or *uo*) or toads are found in several places in the codices

and in the stone carvings, but it is quite impossible to refer them definitely to any of the numerous species occurring in Central America, if, indeed, the artists had any one species in mind. In the Tro-Cortesianus frogs are not uncommon. In 31a there are four (Pl. 7, fig. 1) with water coming from their mouths. They are characterized by their stout tailless bodies, flattened heads and toothless mouths. In 101d (Pl. 7, figs. 2, 3) there are two, the first painted blue with spots of darker blue and the second white and represented as broken in two in the middle. The signs of death above the latter clearly show that a dead animal is indicated. Pl. 7, fig. 6, shows the end of Altar O from Copan on which a frog and a fish are pictured, the former in dorsal view, the latter in lateral aspect. The peculiar pointed snout of this frog is similar to that of the frog shown in Pl. 7, fig. 7, also in dorsal view. A somewhat similar creature (Pl. 29, fig. 6) we have included and though it may represent an opossum it has little to distinguish it from the figures of frogs.\*

God B in Tro-Cortesianus 12b should be associated with the frog. His legs are those of a frog and he appears as if swimming in the water. Frog in Maya is *U'o* which is also the name of the second month of the Maya year. The first day of this month, according to Landa, corresponds to August 5 of our year and this is the height of the rainy season in the Maya region. The sign for *U'o* does not, however, resemble a frog in any way. The frog above one of the figures in the Lower Chamber of the Temple of the Tigers at Chichen Itza (Pl. 7, fig. 7) has clearly some relation to the name or totem of the warrior. The Nahua custom is seen here.

Toads are probably intended in Pl. 7, figs. 4, 5. In these the great breadth of the head and mouth together with the short inflated body combine to produce a very toad-like appearance. It is not unlikely that they represent the huge marine toad, *Bufo marinus*, common from southern Mexico to Brazil and in the West Indies. There seems to be no distinction in the treatment of frogs and toads in the codices.

\*Attention is also called to two whistles representing frogs in the *Memoirs of the Peabody Museum*, I, No. 4 (Gordon, 1898), Pl. 9, figs. i, j.

TREE-TOAD (*Hyla eximia*). Of great interest are the figures in Tro-Cortesianus 26a and b (Pl. 8, figs. 1, 3), showing a god with expanded finger tips and characterized further by the presence of two parallel black stripes from the hinder and lower margins of the eye respectively. The knob-like finger tips at once suggest one of the tree-toads, and the presence of the two lines seems to indicate *Hyla eximia* as the species represented. In this tree-toad there is a long black lateral line running posteriorly from the tympanum and above it a shorter line just as in the drawings. It appears to be a common species in the valley of Mexico though but little seems to have been written of its habits. At the beginning of the rainy season it repairs to pools of water to breed and is then very noticeable from its loud voice. No doubt its importance in the Maya economy was from its conspicuousness at the beginning of the rainy period. This fact is brought out more strongly when we consider that these gods representing the tree-toad are associated with agriculture and the sowing of grain at the beginning of the rainy season. Förstemann (1902, p. 35) identifies these figures as god F. They are quite unlike the usual representation of this god and are clearly god P as Schellhas (1904, p. 39) indicates. It is interesting to note that the two black lines behind the eye are also seen in the other gods shown in Tro-Cortesianus 26a and b although the knob-like finger tips are lacking. The glyph for this tree-toad god is recognized in the fifth place at the top of the same page (Pl. 8, fig. 2) by the same two black lines under and behind the eye.

## REPTILIA

SERPENT. It would be impossible in the present paper to enter into any lengthy discussion of the use of the serpent (Maya *kan*) in Mexico and Central America. It seems to be one of the main elements in the religion and consequently in the art of the Mayas and Mexican peoples. It is represented again and again in many forms and varied combinations. It underlies the whole general trend of Maya art. The serpent is often associ-

ated with feathers. The culture hero of the Nahuas, *Quetzalcoatl* (feathered serpent) corresponds to a similar god among the Mayas, *Kukulcan* (also meaning feathered serpent). The feathers of the quetzal are the ones commonly used in connection with the serpent.

Any attempt at identification of the species represented is beset by grave difficulties for so conventionalized have the figures often become that, except in the case of the rattlesnake with its rattles, there are no characteristic marks by which the species may be known. It is natural to suppose that the species used for artistic purposes would be those that are most noteworthy because of their size, coloring, or venomous qualities. No doubt a number of harmless species were also used in the religious ceremonies.\* Such may be those used as hair ornaments in many of the figures (Pl. 8, figs. 7-13, 15) and in which no indication of a rattle is to be seen. The fierce eye of these reptiles is shown by means of an exaggerated overhanging brow occasionally embellished by recurved crests (Pl. 8, figs. 10, 11, 13, 15). These crests are sometimes shown as two or three stalked knobs (Pl. 10, fig. 7) that Stempell was misled into identifying as the eyes of snails. Various heads of snakes usually with fangs exposed and tongue protruding are pictured in

\*We have added here a Spanish description from the *Relacion de la Ciudad de Mérida* (1900, pp. 63, 67) of the varieties of serpent found in the country. "Ay una suerte de culebra que llaman los naturales taxinehan, de una terea de largo, que para andar hincan la cabeza en el suelo y da un salto, y de aquella suerte dando saltos anda, la espalda y la cabeza tiene dorada y la punta dela cola este secria en los montes, y quando pica a alguna persona le haze reventar sangre por todos los poros del cuerpo que parece que suda sangre y si no es le haze algun remedio muere dentro de un dia natural y para la mordedura desta culebra tienen por remedio los naturales dar a beber ala tal persona chile y hoja de piciete molido junto y deseido en agua, y con esto guarecen e sanan—ay biboras muy grandes y ponzoñosas de una vara e mas de largo, y tan gruesa como un brazo, que tienen cascabeles en la punta de la cola, y si muerden matan sino se remedio con brevedad, y tienen los naturales por remedio beber chile e piciete como para la mordedura del taxinehan—ay otras suertes de culebras que se llaman cocob, de tres y cuatro varas de largo y tan gruesas como una lanza gineta, que tambien son muy ponzoñosas, y al que pican haze salir sangre



Pl. 8, figs. 4, 6; Pl. 9, figs. 2, 4-6: one snake with a spiny back is shown in Pl. 8, fig. 5, but obviously it represents merely the artist's endeavor to present as terrifying a creature as possible.

Various types of rattlesnakes are shown in Pl. 9. The presence of the rattle is of course the characteristic, and this portion alone is likewise used, in one case, at least, as a glyph (Pl. 9, fig. 7). It cannot be denied, however, that some or most of the snakes in which no rattles appear, are nevertheless intended for rattlers. It may have been that the figures were so well understood that the addition of rattles in the drawings was quite unnecessary. This, however, is quite conjectural. The species of rattlesnake is probably *Crotalus basiliscus* or *C. terrificus* of southern Mexico and adjacent regions, not *C. horridus* or *adamanteus* as supposed by Stempell since these two species are confined to the United States. Among the figures shown on Pl. 9, it is noteworthy that five of the rattlesnakes show no fangs. Some are spotted, but in a wholly arbitrary manner. Three are unmarked. One is shown coiled about the base of a tree (Pl. 9, fig. 5), another coiled ready to strike though the rattle is pictured trailing on the ground instead of being held erect in the center of the coil as usually is done (Pl. 9, fig. 9). A rattlesnake is shown held in the hand of a man in Pl. 9, fig. 8.

In Pl. 10, fig. 1, is shown a rattle-less snake with prominent fang, coiled about the top of an altar which may represent a tree or bush. From the latter fact, it might be concluded that it was a tree- or bush-inhabiting species,

por todo el cuerpo y por los ojos, como el taxinehan, . . . procuraban guardarse desta ponzoña con juros y encantamientos, que avia grandes encantadores y tenian sus libros para conjurarlas y encantarlas, y estos encantadores, con pocas palabras que dezian, encantaban y amansaban las eulebras ponzoñosas, las cojian y tomaban con las manos sin que les hiziese mal ninguno—tambien ay eulebras bobas sin ponzoñas, de dos varas y mas de largo y tan gruesas como el brazo, y suelen ponerse sobre arboles juntos a los caminos, y quando pasa alguna persona se deja caer encima y se le enrosca y rebuelve al cuerpo y a la garganta, y apretando le procura ahogarle y matarle, a sucedido matar algunos yndios caçadores yendo descuidados—tambien tienen estas eulebras distinto natural para comer y sustentarse."

possibly the deadly "bush-master" (*Lachesis lanceolatus*). Other figures (Pl. 10, figs. 3, 7; Pl. 11, figs. 1, 2) are introduced here as examples of the curious head ornamentation frequently found in the drawings. The two first are merely serpents with the jaws extended to the utmost, and with a characteristic head decoration. The last is provided with an elaborate crest. The size and markings of the two serpents shown in Pl. 11, as well as their want of rattles suggest that they may represent some species of large *Boidae* as *Loroceumus bicolor* or *Boa* (sp?).

After having commented upon the various serpents occurring in the codices and in several other places, we will now take up the manner and connection in which the various figures occur. We shall pass over completely the use of the "serpent column" at Chichen Itza, the importance of the serpent motive in the development of the masked panel as worked out by Spinden, and the countless representations of the plumed serpent in the whole field of Maya design and decoration. In the single Temple of the Tigers at Chichen Itza, the feathered serpent occurs in the round as a column decoration supporting the portico, as carved on the wooden lintel at the entrance to the Painted Chamber, again and again on the frescoes of this room,\* in the Lower Chamber as dividing the bas-relief into zones or panels, and, finally, as the center of the whole composition of this bas-relief. It will be seen, therefore, that it will be necessary in a short paper, to limit ourselves to the representations of the serpent in the Maya codices.

The serpent is most frequently associated with god B. Schellhas (1904, p. 17), Fewkes (1894), Förstemann (1906), and Thomas (1882), seem to agree that god B is to be identified as *Kukulcan*, the most important of the deities of the Mayas and, as pointed out before, appearing in the Nahua mythology, as *Quetzalcoatl*, and in the Quiche myths as *Gucumatz*. It was also noted that the name means both in

\* Pl. 9, figs. 5, 9, show drawings of the rattlesnake which occur on the fresco.

Maya and in Nahuatl, the "feathered serpent" or the "bird serpent." Other authorities consider god B as *Itzamna*, another of the main gods of the Mayas. Seler interprets god B as the counterpart of the Nahua rain god, *Tlaloc*. It is certain that when god B and the serpent are associated together water and rain are usually indicated. God H, "the *Chicchan* god," also has some relation to the serpent. As pointed out by Schellhas (1904, pp. 28-30), this god often appears characterized by a skin-spot or a scale of the serpent on his temple of the same shape as the hieroglyph of the day *Chicchan* (serpent). The glyph belonging to this deity also shows the *Chicchan* sign as its distinguishing mark. Similar signs appear on the body of the serpent in many places, as in Tro-Cortesianus 30a (Pl. 11, fig. 1).

We have already noted that the serpent, god B, and water are frequently shown together, so the serpent also appears associated with water and rain, when no figure of god B is present. From this connection, it can be argued that there is some relation between the serpent and the coming of the rains. These facts would give strength to the theory that god B is to be identified as a rain god. In Dresden 33a, 35a, god B is seated on the open jaws of a serpent, while the body of the reptile encloses a blue field evidently signifying water. The number nineteen appears on this blue color. It will be noted that there are nineteen spots on the serpents in Pl. 11, figs. 1, 2. In Tro-Cortesianus 3a-6a, corresponding scenes seem to be shown. The body of the serpent encloses water, and here the number eighteen appears in each case. God B occurs always in front of the serpent and his head appears as the head of the reptile in the first instance. In Dresden 35a, 36a, the head of god B is pictured as the head of the serpent in the midst of the water. In Dresden 37b (Pl. 10, fig. 8), B is holding a snake in the water.

Water appears in connection with the serpent and god B in many places in the Tro-Cortesianus. In 9, god B is pictured pouring water from a jar, a common method of showing the idea of rain in the codices. In 12b, B again is shown

perhaps representing a frog, and behind him a serpent. The reptiles in 13b-18b, are all associated with the idea of rain, the turtle and frog also appearing in this section. In 30a (Pl. 11, fig. 1), god B and a female figure are both pouring water from a jar, as they stand on the body of a serpent. In 32a, the black god (L) is seen in the rain, and a serpent is near, while in 32b and 33b (Pl. 9, fig. 1), the serpent forms the belt of god L, and a female figure and water are seen in both cases. The blue color of the snake and of god B in 31b (Pl. 11, fig. 2) may also suggest water.

God B also occurs in connection with the serpent in Dresden 42a (Pl. 8, fig. 14), where the god is seated on the reptile, in Tro-Cortesianus, 10b, where the head of the same god is the head of the snake, and in Tro-Cortesianus 19a, where god B again and god A are each seated on the open jaws of a serpent.

The astronomical role of the serpent is noted in Dresden 56b, 57b (Pl. 10, fig. 3), Tro-Cortesianus 5b, 12b, 13b, and 67b, where the snake is shown in connection with a line of constellation *sigus*, the *kin* or sun sign prominent in most of the drawings. In the "battle of the constellations" in Dresden 60, the serpent appears forming a sort of altar, the seat of a figure which is supported by another figure. A serpent head also appears at the foot of the latter figure.

That the serpent appears associated with the idea of time seems clear from the fact of the long number series in Dresden 61, 62 (Pl. 10, fig. 7), and 69, which are shown in the spaces made by the winding of the serpents' bodies. In Tro-Cortesianus 13a-16a, four large reptiles appear in connection with the lines of day *sigus*.

The study of the serpent used as a head-dress is interesting. As noted previously, quite a different kind of snake seems to be represented when used in this connection. Two other points come out in this investigation, namely, that it is only with female figures that the serpent is employed as a head-dress, and in far the greater number of cases the women are shown, either in the act of offering something, or of pouring water from a jar. The usual type of serpent

head-dress is seen in Dresden 9c (Pl. 8, fig. 11), 15b (Pl. 8, fig. 12), 18a (Pl. 8, fig. 13), 22b (Pl. 8, fig. 10), and 23b (Pl. 8, fig. 8). In the first case, the offering is a jicara or gourd of some sacred drink (*baltse?*), in the second and third examples, the dish is clearly shown, but the offering is unidentifiable, in the fourth case, maize (a *Kan* sign), and in the last, a fish resting on a dish. In Dresden 20a (Pl. 8, fig. 15), a woman with serpent head-dress is seen associated with the Moan-headed figure, possibly in the act of offering it as a sacrifice.

In Dresden 39b (Pl. 8, fig. 7), 43b (Pl. 8, fig. 9), and 70, a similar serpent head-dress is shown on a female figure in the act of pouring water from a jar. In Tro-Cortesianus, the serpent head-dresses differ in type only, and in two out of the four cases where they appear, water is shown flowing from the breasts (30b) of the female figure or from the mouth (32b). The woman thus represented in connection with the water is god I, the water goddess of Schellhas. She is, as he notes (1904, p. 31) usually the figure of an old woman. "Evidently, we have here the personification of water in its quality of destroyer, a goddess of floods and cloud-bursts." We are not at all sure that we have here a distinct god as similar female figures with serpent head-dresses occur frequently in the Dresden Codex with no suggestion of water. The failure to find any distinct glyph for this goddess seems to strengthen the view of not considering her as a separate deity. Finally, in our consideration of head-dresses, the serpent is to be seen in Tro-Cortesianus 79c on the head of the first woman who is weaving. Possibly, a conventionalized serpent forms the head covering of the second figure who is represented as dead.

The serpent in Dresden 25c-28c (Pl. 10, fig. 1) coiled around the altar which rises from a *Tun* sign is not easily explained. In 25c, the altar is replaced by god B and in the former cases, the reptiles may stand for this god with whom they are often associated.\* The serpent seems closely

\* The reader is also referred to the bas-relief of the Lower Chamber of the Temple of the Tigers at Chichen Itza where a serpent is shown behind a low altar.

connected with the idea of offerings as the body of a snake is shown in several instances as the support of the jar containing the various gifts in Tro-Cortesianus 34a, 34b, 35a, 35b, 36a, 36b, and possibly 52c (Pl. 9, fig. 3).

Finally the serpent is to be noted in a number of miscellaneous connections:—in Dresden 36b (Pl. 19, fig. 11), as being attacked by a black vulture,\* in Tro-Cortesianus 40b (Pl. 9, fig. 4) a rattlesnake is biting the foot of one of the hunters, and in Tro-Cortesianus 66b, where the serpent has a human head and arm coming from its open jaws. This is a very frequent method of representing the serpent in the Maya stone carvings. In Tro-Cortesianus 60c, 100d (Pl. 9, fig. 8), twice, 106a, and 111b, the rattlesnake is shown as a sprinkler for the holy water in the hand (in the first, second and fourth examples) of god D. Landa (1864, p. 150)† describes in the ceremony of the baptism of children, that the leader of the rite wore on his head a kind of mitre embroidered with plumage in some manner and in his hand a small holy-water sprinkler of wood, carved skillfully, of which the filaments were the tails of serpents, similar to serpents with rattles.

In spite of the importance of the serpent in the manuscripts and stone carvings, it never seems to appear as a separate deity. With one exception, no glyph is to be found representing this reptile as is the case with many of the animals. Tro-Cortesianus 106c (Pl. 9, fig. 7) is this exception showing the rattles of a snake which are found in the line of glyphs above two of the bees. No serpent appears in the picture.

The Nahuatl day, *Couall*, has the signification serpent, as suggested before, in discussing the meaning of the name *Quetzalcoatl* or *Quetzalcouall*. This day sign occurs through-

\* Förstemann (1906, p. 15) agrees with Schellhas that this may be a rebus for the name *Quetzalcoatl* or *Kukulcan*. As the bird is a vulture rather than a quetzal this could hardly be the case.

† "Y con isopo en el mano de un palo corto muy labrado, y por barbas o pelos del isopo ciertas colas de unas culebras que son como caxcavales."

out the Mexican manuscripts as the head of a serpent (Pl. 8, figs. 4, 6; Pl. 9, fig. 2; Pl. 10, figs. 2, 4-6).

IGUANA. Of the lizards represented, the iguana (Maya *hu*) is the most striking, and is readily identified on account of the prominent spines along the back. As noted by StemPELL, there are two or three species of large lizards in Central America commonly called iguana, and it is probable that the one here considered is the *Ctenosaura acanthura* of Yucatan or *Iguana tuberculata* of South and Central America.

In the manuscripts the iguana is almost exclusively represented as an offering (Pl. 12, figs. 1-6). It is usually found on top of the *Kan* sign, meaning maize or bread,\* and this, in turn, resting in a bowl (Pl. 12, figs. 3, 4, 6). Landa (1864, p. 230)† gives a pleasing confirmation of this offering of an iguana with bread. It is possible that the object shown in Tro-Cortesianus 12b (Pl. 12, fig. 13) may be the conventionalized representation of this lizard. It must be admitted that this interpretation is very doubtful. The triangular points suggest the lizard, but the pointed character of the sign as a whole in no way resembles the back of this reptile. It is found associated with three *Kan* signs. In Cakchiquel, a dialect of the Maya stock, *K'an*, according to Guzman and Brinton (1893, p. 24) is the name applied to the female of the iguana or the lizard, and this is believed to be the original sense of the Maya term. It may also be noted that the Nahua day sign *Cuetzpālin*, meaning lizard, is the one which corresponds with the Maya day *Kan*. Pl. 12, figs. 10, 12, 14, show representations of the day corresponding to *Cuetzpālin* in the Aubin and Nuttall codices. These show a stout spineless species with a short thick tail and may be

\* Brinton (1893, p. 25) notes that the equivalent of *Kan* in the Nahuatl of Miztitan is *xitōtl* which means ear of corn. This seems to show the correctness of the usual identification of the *Kan* sign as meaning maize or bread (*pan*).

† "Y les ofrecian dos pellas de una leche o resina de un arbol que llaman *kik*, para quemar y ciertas iguanas y pan y una mitra y un manojo de flores y una piedra preciosa de las suyas."

the Gila monster (*Heloderma horridum*), a large and somewhat poisonous species having much these proportions.

Further offerings are shown in Pl. 12, figs. 7, 8. These seem to be the heads and forefeet of lizards, but, from the shape of the head, perhaps not of iguanas.

In Stela D of Copan, the *Uinal* period glyph seems to be represented by a spineless lizard covered with scales (Pl. 12, fig. 9). Frog-like characteristics also appear. This stone monument is remarkable from the fact that the glyphs are all more or less realistic representations of human and animal forms. It should be noted that there certainly seems to be some connection between the *Uinal* period glyph and the lizard. Pl. 13, fig. 9, represents a *Uinal* glyph from the Temple of the Foliated Cross at Palenque and the lizard form is clearly seen in the eyebrow and the upper jaw. Compare also Pl. 13, fig. 11, and Pl. 28, fig. 3. A collection of glyphs of this period shows clearly the lizard-like character of the face.

That some connection existed between the lizard and the idea of rain seems clear from a reference in the *Relacion de la Ciudad de Merida* (1900, p. 51).<sup>\*</sup> Finally the lizard is shown in Dresden 3a (Pl. 12, fig. 11) directly in front of god H beside the scene of human sacrifice.

CROCODILE. The text figure (1) shows a dorsal view of a crocodile (Maya, *ayin*) carved on the top of Altar T at Copan. The general form is considerably conventionalized with limbs elongated and provided with human hands and long toes. The protuberances of the back are roughly shown by oval markings, which are here continued on the legs. The large scales of the ventral surfaces also appear at the sides of the body, and along the posterior edges of the limbs. The tail is shortened and bifurcate. The most interesting portion, however, is the head. The snout is distinctly pinched in at the base, though broadened again distally. In the alligator the snout is broad and tapers but

<sup>\*</sup> "Y pintaban un largarto que significaba el Diluvio—y la tierra e sobre este largarto hazian un gran monton de leña y ponianle fuego."



little. As in other representations of the crocodile, the lower jaw does not appear, and even in this dorsal view the artist seems to have deemed it necessary to show the row of teeth as if in side view, or as though they projected laterally from the mouth. What may represent ears or ear plugs are shown one on each side behind the eyes. There are few other examples of full drawings of the crocodile in the Maya writings.

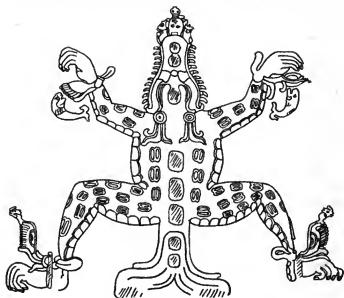


FIG. 1.  
TOP OF ALTAR T. COPAN.

Dresden 74 shows an animal which has been considered to represent a crocodile or alligator but it seems to have more of the characteristics of a lizard.

Figures of a crocodile (*Crocodylus americanus*) are frequent in the Nuttall Codex, where there is one large figure of the entire animal (Pl. 13, fig. 8), making its way along under water. It is shown with numerous dorsal spines, a long tail,

and powerful claws. Curiously, however, it has no lower jaw and the same is true of the numerous glyphs representing the head of the animal. This is so pronounced a characteristic, that it may be doubted if the open-mouthed head and the single limb shown in Pl. 13, fig. 2, really picture the same animal, though otherwise apparently referable to the crocodile. In the various glyphs showing the head of this species, the prominent, elongate eyebrow and the absence of the lower jaw are noteworthy points, while the teeth may vary in number from three to six.

The glyphs (Pl. 13, figs. 1, 3-7) represent the Nahua day sign *Cipactli* corresponding to the Maya day *Imix*. In the band of constellation signs in Dresden 52b (Pl. 13, fig. 10), there occurs a single figure with a long eurlled eyebrow and lacking the lower jaw. In the upper jaw three teeth are indicated. A comparison of this figure with the glyphs in the Nuttall Codex seems to leave little doubt that it represents a crocodile. This is the sign which Förstemann (1906, p. 206) interprets as standing for Saturn. Pl. 13, fig. 12, is certainly the same sign as it stands in relatively the same position in the constellation band on Dresden 53a. It represents the highly conventionalized head of a crocodile. On Stela 10 from Piedras Negras (Maler, 1901-1903, Pl. 19) the same glyph is seen.

The range of the alligator in North America does not extend to Yucatan, hence the crocodile, which does occur there, is taken as the original of all these figures. There is nothing in the latter that would distinguish it from the alligator.

**TURTLES.** Representations of the turtle (Maya, *ak*) are not uncommon among the Mayas. At Uxmal there is a ruined building called *Casa de las Tortugas* on which at intervals around the cornice there are carvings of turtles. Turtles of at least two species occur in the Tro-Cortesianus. With one exception, they seem to be limited to this codex. That shown on Pl. 14, figs. 1-3, 5, is a large species with the dorsal scutes represented by large diamond-shaped pieces. There is little

that might be considered distinctive about these turtles, although one (Pl. 14, fig. 5) has the anterior paddles much larger than the posterior, indicating a sea turtle. What is doubtless the same turtle is pictured in several places in the Nuttall Codex. In one of the figures in the latter manuscript, the shell is shown apparently in use as a shield (Pl. 14, fig. 4). This would indicate one of the large sea turtles, and there is not much doubt that either the Loggerhead turtle (*Thalassochelys cephalo*) or the Hawksbill (*Chelone imbricata*) is here intended.

Quite another species is that shown in Pl. 14, fig. 6. That this is a freshwater turtle is plainly indicated by the parasitic leeches that are noted fastened by their round sucking-disks to the sides of its body. The long neck, pointed snout, and apparent limitation of the dorsal spinous scutes to the central area of the back may indicate the snapping turtle (*Chelydra serpentina*) or possibly a species of the genus *Cinosternum* (probably *C. leucostomum*). It is hardly likely that it is one of the true soft-shelled turtles (*Trionyx*), as the range of that genus is not known to include Mexico. The turtle from Nuttall 43 (Pl. 14, fig. 11) may belong to the same species as its scutes seem rather few, or it may be that the view shown here is of the ventral side and that the scales indicate the small plastron of one of the sea turtles.

The turtle appears alone as one of the figures in the *tonalamatl* in several cases in the Tro-Cortesianus, 13a, 17a (Pl. 14, fig. 3), 72b (Pl. 14, fig. 6). It is found associated with the toad appearing in the rain in Tro-Cortesianus 17b (Pl. 14, fig. 2) and alone in the rain in 13a. In Tro-Cortesianus 81c (Pl. 14, fig. 5), it appears in front of an unidentifiable god.

Schellhas has called the turtle an animal symbolical of the lightning basing his opinion, as Brinton (1895, p. 74) tells us, on Dresden 40b where a human figure with animal head is holding two torches in his hands. This figure does not seem to us to represent a turtle, as is commonly supposed, but a parrot, as will be pointed out later (p. 343). Förste-

mann (1902, p. 27) identifies the turtle with the summer solstice, as has been noted before, explaining that the animal is slow of motion, and is taken to represent the time when the sun seems to stand still. He bases his theory (1904, p. 423) in part on the fact that the sign for the Maya month *Kayab*, which is the month in which the summer solstice occurs, shows the face of the turtle (Pl. 14, fig. 10). This undoubtedly is correct, but he seems to us wrong in classing as turtles the figure in Dresden 40b (Pl. 25, fig. 1) with its accompanying glyph (Pl. 25, fig. 6).

The turtle is found in connection with two sun (*kin*) signs beneath a constellation band in Tro-Cortesianus 71a. Resting upon his body are three *Cauac* signs. The single representation of the turtle in the Dresden Codex is on page 49 (Pl. 14, fig. 12) where a god is pictured with a turtle's head. The heavy sharp beak indicates that he represents one of the sea turtles previously mentioned. He is shown transfixed by a spear and corresponds to the other figures in the lower parts of pp. 46-50. These all have some connection with the Venus period which is considered in these pages.\*

A number of glyphs representing the turtle are found throughout the codices (Pl. 14, figs. 7-10). They are all characterized by the heavy beak. It may be noted that these glyphs are virtually the same as the sign for the first *a* in Landa's alphabet. As the turtle is called *ak* or *aak* in Maya, the reason is clear for the selection of this sign for an *a* sound. These turtle glyphs often occur alone; one, however, (Pl. 14, fig. 7) is found in connection with the swimming turtle in Tro-Cortesianus 17a (Pl. 14, fig. 3). Figs. 7-9 agree in having the small scrolls at the posterior end of the eye. The head shown in Pl. 14, fig. 10, has quite a different eye, though otherwise similar. Its resemblance to the glyph on Pl. 25, fig. 9, is marked and suggests the parrot. Schellhas (1904, p. 44) gives in his fig. 64, a glyph for the turtle which seems clearly to be a glyph for the parrot (Pl. 25, fig. 7).

\* See in this connection Seler, 1904.

## AVES

HERONS (*Ardea herodias*; *Hydranassa tricolor ruficollis*). Only a few water birds are shown in the Maya works. Several are found, however, that seem to picture herons (Pl. 15, figs. 1-7). The best of these (fig. 5), a carving from the west side panel of the Temple of the Cross at Palenque shows a crested heron standing on one foot and holding in its bill a fish. A second figure (Pl. 15, fig. 1) is from the stucco ornament from the Palace, House B, at Palenque. It is less carefully executed, but seems to be a long-necked bird with a crest and outspread wings curiously conventionalized. In the Nuttall Codex there is another unmistakable heron (Pl. 15, fig. 4) with the same general characteristics, though the crest is less prominent, here represented as a series of erectile feathers separated at their tips. This elongation of the crest seems to be carried still farther in what seems to be the head and neck of a heron from Dresden 37b (Pl. 15, fig. 3) with erectile feathers at intervals along its length.

The heron is seldom employed as a head-dress. In the Lower Chamber of the Temple of the Tigers at Chichen Itza, one of the warriors wears a bird head-dress (Pl. 15, fig. 2), which from the length of the bill is probably made from a heron's head, though the crest seems greatly exaggerated. The bas-relief on which this is found is strongly Nahua in feeling and execution. This head covering may indicate, according to the Nahua fashion, the tribe to which the warrior belongs. Again in Dresden 36a (Pl. 15, fig. 7), a man is shown wearing as a head-dress the head and neck of a heron that holds in its bill a fish. This head resembles very closely that of the heron in fig. 1. What appears to be a similar head is shown in Pl. 15, fig. 6. It is interesting to note that the heron with a fish (Pl. 15, fig. 5) from Palenque also forms a part of a complicated head-dress.

It is, of course, uncertain to which of the several herons occurring in Central America these representations refer. Possibly the Great Blue heron (*Ardea herodias*) or the Louisi-

ana heron (*Hydranassa tricolor ruficollis*) is intended. It seems not unlikely also, that one of the white egrets may be shown as their crests are fairly conspicuous.

FRIGATE-BIRD (*Fregata aquila*). We have included here two figures (Pl. 15, figs. 8, 9) that undoubtedly represent a single species of bird. It is characterized by a deeply forked tail and long beak, which has part way on its length, a circular object surrounded by a circle of dots. It seems still problematical what this object may be. In one figure (fig. 9), the beak is strongly hooked, in the other (fig. 8) it is straight, but as the latter is plainly a much more carelessly made drawing, we may infer that the hooked bill is more nearly correct. This would exclude the Terns (*Sterna*), to which Stempell has referred the figures. It seems probable that the frigate-bird (*Fregata aquila*) is the species intended, as this is not only a large conspicuous form on these coasts, but it has a long and strongly hooked beak and forked tail. The length of the beak would probably exclude from consideration, the swallow-tailed kite that also occurs in the region.

Both these birds are pictured, evidently as an offering or sacrifice. It is very seldom that the whole bird is represented in this connection, and still more infrequent to find anything but the turkey, which is the usual bird of sacrifice. The figure from the Dresden Codex (Pl. 15, fig. 9) rests upon the usual bowl or jar, that from the Tro-Cortesianus (Pl. 15, fig. 8) is pictured upon a grotesque animal head, three *Kan* signs and these upon the jar.

In the Tro-Cortesianus 20c, 21c, there occur several representations of man-like forms with very peculiar heads. The latter are each provided with a beak-like projection, on which appears the circle surrounded by dots noted above in connection with the frigate-bird. Brinton concludes that this mystic symbol is a representation of the curious knob on the bill of the male white pelican, and therefore identifies these curious figures as pelicans. Stempell follows Brinton in this, but considers that they are the brown pelican (*P.*

*fuscus*), since the white pelican is rare or casual, as far south as Yucatan. Unfortunately, however, for this supposition, the brown pelican lacks the curious knob that Brinton believed to be represented by the circle of dots. Moreover, this same sign occurs on the drawings of the bills of the frigate-bird and the ocellated turkey, and is evidently not of specific significance. To our minds it is doubtful if the figures under discussion are birds at all, and we are unable to assign them a name with any degree of confidence. A peculiar glyph occurs in connection with them which may be an aid to their ultimate identification. Brinton calls the glyph the "fish and oyster sign."

OCCELLATED TURKEY (*Agriocharis ocellata*). This turkey (Maya *ku*) is an important species in the Maya economy, and is seen frequently in the manuscripts. This is a smaller bird than the more northern true turkey (*Meleagris*) and is characterized by the presence of curious erect knobs on the top of the naked head. These are shown in conventionalized form in the various figures (Pl. 16), and afford a ready means of identification. On the bill of the bird shown in Tro-Cortesianus 10b (Pl. 16, fig. 2) occurs again the curious symbol, a circle surrounded by dots, previously noted under the frigate-bird and pelican. It probably has some special significance. Other figures of ocellated turkeys show but little in addition to the points just discussed. One shown in Pl. 16, fig. 7, from Codex Vaticanus 3773, however, has a circular ring about the eye and the wattles are indicated as projections merely. In fig. 13, they are apparently shown as stalked knobs found elsewhere in connection with serpent head ornaments. It is only the head in this latter figure which is considered in this interpretation.

In the Nuttall Codex, there frequently occur representations of a bird that was evidently used for sacrificial purposes. It is shown with erectile head feathers and a ring of circular marks about the eye (Pl. 26, figs. 12, 14; Pl. 27, figs. 2-3) or with concentric circles (Pl. 27, fig. 1). These figures are

not surely identifiable, but probably represent this turkey. Possibly they are the chachalaca (*Ortalis vetula pallidiventris*), a gallinaceous bird, commonly kept in semi-domestication in Mexico, whose bare eye ring and slightly erectile head feathers may be represented by the drawings. It is probable that this turkey is the bird represented frequently in the Maya codices as a bird of sacrifice. The head alone usually appears in this connection, among other places, in Dresden 34a (Pl. 16, fig. 10), 41c (fig. 14), 29c (fig. 16), 28c (fig. 17), and in Tro-Cortesianus 12b (Pl. 16, fig. 11), 105b (fig. 12), 107b (fig. 15). In several of these places the head is represented as resting on one or more *Kan* signs, again meaning bread, as well as on the vessel or jar. In Dresden 26c (Pl. 16, fig. 9), the whole turkey is pictured as an offering, as in the preceding case noted in Dresden 35a (Pl. 15, fig. 9). The whole bird as an offering may also appear in Tro-Cortesianus 4a (Pl. 16, fig. 4) corresponding to the offering of venison and iguana on the following pages. This representation of the entire bird is very rare although the fish, when used as an offering, is always represented as a whole and the iguana is in most cases when used in the same connection. Landa (1864, p. 222)\* confirms the offering of the heads of birds with bread.

It is, however, the sacrifice of a bird, probably a turkey, by decapitating, that is especially interesting, as the operation as shown in the Dresden Codex 25c (Pl. 26, fig. 2), 26c, 27c, 28c, in the rites of the four years, is described in full by Landa. In the codex, a priest is represented as holding in his hand before an altar, a headless bird. Landa (1864, pp. 212, 218, 224, 228)† tells us that in the *Kan*, the *Muluc*,

\*"Y ofrecerle cabeças de pavos y pan y bevidas de maíz."

†(Kan year) "Sahumavan la imagen, degollavan una gallina y se la presentavan o offrecian . . . y assi le hazian muchas offrendas de comidas y bevidas de carne y pescado, y estas offrendas repartian a los estrangeros que alli se hallavan."

(Muluc year) "Y despues degollavanle la gallina como al pasado."

(Ix year) "Y degollavan la gallina . . . a la estatua de *Kac-u-Uayeyab*



the *Ix*, and the *Cauac* years, the priests burnt incense to the idol, decapitated a "*gallina*" (undoubtedly a turkey), and presented it to the god.

The turkey is also used as a head-dress. Only in one case, however, Tro-Cortesianus 95c (Pl. 16, fig. 5), is the whole bird represented in this connection. This is clearly of totemic significance here, as it occurs in that part of the codex where birth and infant baptism are shown. In many other places there are curious partial representations of bird heads in the front of head-dresses which may or may not be identified as heads of turkeys. Among these are the head-dress of god H in Dresden 7c, of god E in Dresden 11c, of god C in Dresden 13b, of god A in Dresden 23c, and a female divinity in Dresden 20a (Pl. 16, fig. 13). Schellhas (1904, p. 43) identifies these birds as vultures.

That the turkey is connected with the rain seems clear. This is especially the case among the Nahuas. In the Aubin manuscript the rain god, *Tlaloc*, often appears in the disguise of the turkey-cock (*uexolotl*), and in the Vaticanus 3773, 14, the turkey (Pl. 16, fig. 7) is represented in the "House of Rain," in contrast to the owl shown in the "House of Drought" (Seler, 1902-1903, p. 75). It might be noted also that Fewkes (1892, p. 228) shows that the turkey is emblematic of the rain among the pueblo peoples. The same idea seems to be present among the Mayas, as we note in the Tro-Cortesianus 10b (Pl. 16, fig. 2) the turkey is pictured in the rain and surrounded on three sides by bands of constellation signs.

Two methods of capturing the turkey are shown in the Tro-Cortesianus 93a and 91a (Pl. 16, figs. 1, 3). By the first, the bird is captured alive in a sort of wicker basket, which drops over it at the proper moment. The second method is by the "twich-up" or snare, which consists of a

ofrescian una cabeça de un pavo, y empanados de codornices y otras cosa y su bevida."

(Cauac year) "Como solian y degollavan la gallina . . . un hombre muerto y en cima un paxaro cenicero llamad *kuch*, en señal de mortandad grande, ea por muy mal año tenían este."

noose tied to a bent sapling and properly baited. In connection with Pl. 16, fig. 1, it may be suggested that possibly this represents a cage rather than a trap, in which the bird is confined. The Lacandonese at the present time often keep their totem animals in captivity (Tozzer, 1907, p. 40).

**KING VULTURE** (*Sarcorhamphus papa*). Numerous figures of vultures appear in the codices and elsewhere. Indeed, they are among the most common of the birds depicted. Two species only seem to occur in the writings, the king vulture and the black vulture. The former is a large black and white bird with the head and the upper part of the neck unfeathered, except for numerous short, almost bristle-like plumules. These naked portions are often colored red and there is a large more or less squarish fleshy knob at the base of the upper ramus of the beak. This conspicuous protuberance has been seized upon as a characteristic in the conventionalized figures, and serves to identify the king from the black vulture. In addition, a series of concentric circles about the eye seems to be a rather constant mark of the king vulture, though they are also sometimes found in connection with figures which, from the absence of the rostral knob, must represent black vultures (Pl. 18, figs. 18, 27; Pl. 19, figs. 7, 10, 11). In the case of the bird shown in Pl. 19, fig. 1, the knob is hardly apparent, and the same is true of Pl. 19, fig. 13. Both these may represent king vultures. A remarkable figure is that shown in Pl. 17, fig. 4, in which an ocellated turkey and a king vulture confront each other with necks intertwined. The short hair-like black feathers of the head are represented in this as well as in Pl. 17, fig. 11, and in the glyph carved in stone (Pl. 17, fig. 10), which from the presence of the knob is probably a king vulture. The characteristic knob is shown in a variety of ways. Thus, in Pl. 17, fig. 1, it is greatly developed and resembles a large horn with a falcate tip. In Pl. 17, fig. 4, it is sharply angular and nearly square. Frequently, it is a circle with a centered ring surmounted by one or two additional rings or terminated by a mitre-shaped structure (Pl. 17, figs. 2, 5-7, 8-12). A

very simple form was found in the carving shown in Pl. 17, fig. 13, where a long projecting knob is seen at the base of the culmen.

The king vulture seems to have a part to play as a mythological being, as it is pictured as a god with human body and bird head in the act of cohabiting with a woman in Dresden 19a, and with a dog in Dresden 13c (Pl. 17, fig. 3). Moreover, the same vulture god is represented on a blue background and under a band of constellation signs in Dresden 38b, and is also to be noted in Dresden 8a. Förstemann (1906, p. 66) shows that the thirteenth day of the Maya month is reached in the *tonalamatl* reckoning at this place. This day is *Cib*, which corresponds to the Nahuatl day *Cozcaquauhtli*, which has the meaning vulture, and here, as previously noted, the vulture god is represented. In Tro-Cortesianus 22c (Pl. 17, fig. 2) and 10a,\* the king vulture appears alone, in the first instance with a blue background, and in the second with a background representing rain. Rain is also shown in connection with the vulture god in Dresden 38b, and the black vulture in Tro-Cortesianus 18b (Pl. 19, fig. 13).

The king vulture is found employed as a head-dress twice out of the three times it appears in any connection with female figures, Tro-Cortesianus 26c (Pl. 17, fig. 12) with male figure, and 94c (Pl. 17, fig. 11) and 95c with female figures. The last two clearly have to do with the baptism and naming of infants, as previously explained.

The study of the glyph used to indicate the vulture is interesting, for we find it recurring again and again throughout the Maya codices and often when there is no other drawing of the animal, as in Dresden 39c (Pl. 17, fig. 5; Pl. 18, fig. 19). The first example (glyph 6) is clearly the head of the king vulture, whereas the second (glyph 3) is probably the head of the black vulture. The glyph in Dresden 38b (Pl. 17, fig. 7) appears in connection with the vulture god directly below it. In Dresden 11b (Pl. 18, fig. 1), it occurs alone and

\*Förstemann identifies this bird as a black eagle.

no figure appears in the usual place below. The *Tun* period glyph (Pl. 17, fig. 10) frequently shows vulture characteristics especially in the nostril of the face. The teeth, however, often appearing in the *Tun* glyph would be against this theory. The blending of bird and mammal characteristics is not uncommon in the Maya drawings, however.

The Nahua day sign, *Cozcaquauhli*, as previously noted, has the meaning vulture, and we naturally find this bird frequently represented in the Mexican codices. In the Nuttall Codex, the head of the king vulture occurs repeatedly as a glyph for this day. In its less modified forms (Pl. 18, figs. 2-4), the beak is merely a pair of flattened rami, surmounted proximally by the conspicuous quadrangular knob. The minute hair-like feathers on the otherwise naked head are shown as a fringe at the throat and crown, while a conventionalized ear is represented posteriorly. A series of interesting figures (Pl. 18, figs. 5-10) illustrates steps in the further reduction of this head to a small glyph in which only the beak with its large squarish knob remains (Pl. 18, fig. 10).

BLACK VULTURE (*Catharista urubu*). It is difficult to assign any single characteristic to the figures representing the black vulture (Maya, *tšom*) other than the long raptorial beak. A number of drawings probably depict black vultures, though this cannot be certainly affirmed. Such are those shown in Pl. 18, figs. 11, 12, 14, 17; Pl. 19, figs. 2-4, 13, 14. Stempell considers the vulture shown in Pl. 18, fig. 13, to be a king vulture, but it has no knob on the beak, and thus is quite likely the black vulture. The fact that its head is shaped much like that of the god with the king vulture head (Pl. 17, fig. 3) would indicate merely the individuality of the artist. The coloring of the species under discussion is uniformly black in the Dresden and Tro-Cortesianus, except in certain cases where the birds are shown in outline only, as in Pl. 19, fig. 12. It is not certain, however, that these two last are black vultures, though they suggest the species. The two birds shown in Pl. 19, figs. 5, 6, are almost surely black vultures, and, as represented in the manuscript, are descending

upon a man. Stempell thinks they may be ravens, but this is very doubtful, for the raven probably was unknown to the Mayas, since its range is to the northward. What appears to be a crest is seen on the head of the bird in Pl. 19, fig. 4. The black coloring and the shape of the bill otherwise suggest the black vulture, though perhaps the crest would indicate the harpy eagle. Similarly, Pl. 19, fig. 14, is provided with a sort of tuft or crest, but its general appearance is suggestive of the vulture. A pottery whistle (text fig. 2) from the Uloa Valley evidently represents a black vulture. The head of the bird shows the characteristic wrinkled appearance seen



FIG. 2.

POTTERY WHISTLE, VULTURE. ULOA VALLEY, HONDURAS.

in the drawings, with the heavy beak. The absence of the rostral knob would preclude its being a king vulture.

It is natural that this bird should find an important place in the Maya writing, as it is an abundant species in the region considered, and of great importance as a scavenger. The black vulture seems to lack the mythological character associated with the king vulture. It appears usually in connection with death and in the role of a bird of prey. This is especially true in the *Tro-Cortesianus* where in 24d, 26d (Pl. 19, figs. 5, 6) and 28c, it is attacking a human being, in the first and last cases represented as dead. In 86a and 87a, the bird is shown plucking out the eye of a man. In

Dresden 3a (Pl. 19, fig. 7), it appears at the top of the tree above the human sacrifice and seems to be in the act of consuming the victim. In Tro-Cortesianus 91c, it also appears in a tree. In Tro-Cortesianus 40a (Pl. 17, fig. 9), and 42a (Pl. 19, fig. 1), it is shown as eating the entrails of a deer. In the first case, the bird looks like a king vulture, although this is the only instance where this species is shown as a bird of prey. In Tro-Cortesianus 28b and 36b (Pl. 18, fig. 17), the black vulture appears eating the *Kan* sign. In the first example, the *Kan* represents the newly sowed corn, in the second, the *Kan* is held by god F. Landa (1864, p. 230)\* records that in the *Cauac* year there was a ceremony to prevent the ants and the birds devouring the corn. In Dresden 34b and 35b, the vulture is shown on top of the head-dress of god F, evidently the enemy of the harvest and, again, on 35b (Pl. 19, fig. 4) on top of the *Cauac* sign. Its role as a bird of prey is further shown in Dresden 36b (Pl. 19, fig. 11), where it is shown attacking a serpent.

This vulture is associated with god B in Dresden 69b, with god M in Tro-Cortesianus 70a (Pl. 18, fig. 12), and with god D in Tro-Cortesianus 67a (Pl. 17, fig. 1). The last may be the king rather than the black vulture, as suggested above. The black vulture occurs only once as the usual head-dress, in Dresden 17b (Pl. 18, fig. 13), and here in connection with a female figure and the idea of birth. Two birds, probably vultures, appear over the enclosure around the head of god C in Tro-Cortesianus 100b (Pl. 19, fig. 12). In the Lower Chamber of the Temple of the Tigers occurs a black vulture in bas-relief with a necklace represented (Pl. 19, fig. 14).

The glyph of the king vulture has already been discussed. There are other glyphs which seem to show the black vulture, although it is quite possible that no sharp distinction was

\*"Este año en que la letra era *Cauac* y reynava el *Barab-Hozanek* tenían, allende de la pronosticada mortandad, por ruyn, por que dezian les avian los muchos soles de matar los maizales, y comer las muchas hormigas lo que sembrassen y los paxaros, y porque esto no seria en todas partes avria en algunos comida, la qual avrian con gran trabajo."

made between the two in regard to the glyphs at least. In one case (Pl. 18, fig. 18), the wrinkled skin of the head and neck is indicated much as in the case of the king vulture. A few other glyphs are shown (Pl. 18, figs. 16, 19, 22, 27), as well as a variety from the Nuttall Codex in which the minute hair-like feathers of the head are variously represented, usually much exaggerated as a sort of crest or comb. Pl. 18, fig. 22, is interesting as being the only case in the Maya codices where the whole figure is shown in the glyph. As noted in the case of the glyphs of the king vulture, the greater number of these occur quite alone. They seem to indicate that a full drawing of the bird is meant to be understood as occurring below.

Several of the carved glyphs (Pl. 19, figs. 8-10) show the black vulture heads in some detail with the conspicuously open nostril and hooked beak. A carving of the entire bird may be shown on Stela D from Copan (Pl. 28, fig. 5), where the naked head and neck are marked off by lines indicating wrinkled skin. The same lines on the neck of the bird depicted on Pl. 28, fig. 2, will probably identify it as a vulture, and, if the square ornament above the beak certainly is part of the figure, it is unquestionably the king vulture. The knob is not, however, clearly on the bird's beak. There are two interesting glyphs which occur on the eastern façade of the Monjas at Chichen Itza. The glyphs in this inscription are unlike the usual Maya hieroglyphs, although several of the so-called constellation signs can be made out. The two glyphs in question represent the entire body possibly of a vulture, that on Pl. 17, fig. 13, probably the king vulture, and that on Pl. 18, fig. 14, the black vulture.

**HARPY EAGLE** (*Thrasaetos harpyia*). In the Nuttall Codex, what is undoubtedly the harpy eagle is of frequent occurrence. This great bird is not uncommon in the forests of southern Mexico and Central America, and must have attracted the notice of the people from its size. The elongated feathers at the back of the head form a conspicuous crest, a feature that characterizes this species in most of the

representations. A stone carving from Chichen Itza (Pl. 20, fig. 10) pictures a harpy eagle eating an egg-shaped object, and another similarly engaged is copied from the Codex Vaticanus 3773 (Pl. 20, fig. 14). The former is considered to be a vulture by Maudslay, but the presence of feathers covering the head excludes this interpretation. In two stone glyphs (Pl. 20, fig. 1, 3), occurs a large bird apparently devouring something held in its talons, as in Pl. 20, fig. 10. From this general resemblance, it seems probable that both represent the harpy, although no crests are shown on the glyphs. In the Dresden and the Tro-Cortesianus occur a few figures of crested birds that probably are the same species. The crest feathers are reduced to two, however, or, in some cases, what may be a third projecting forward from the base of the bill (Pl. 20, figs. 5, 7, 12, 13). The last two figures are not certainly identifiable, though it is probable that they represent the harpy.

The eagle seems to be the bird associated with warriors in the codices. Seler (1900-1901, p. 89) notes that the eagle and the jaguar are both the mark of brave warriors among the Nahuas. In the Aubin manuscript, the warrior god, *Yaotl*, is always associated with the eagle (*quauhtli*). In the Maya pantheon, god M is usually considered the war god, as he is almost always armed with a spear. He is seen in Dresden 74 (Pl. 20, fig. 13), and in Tro-Cortesianus 109c with an eagle as a head-dress. There are other gods, however, who wear a similar head covering. God L appears in Dresden 14b (Pl. 20, fig. 7) and again in 14c (Pl. 20, fig. 5) with an eagle head-dress. God D in Dresden 23c (Pl. 20, fig. 11) has an eagle coming from a *Tun* sign on top of his head. The eagle is probably represented at the prow of a boat in Dresden 43c (Pl. 20, fig. 12) in which god B is rowing. In Tro-Cortesianus 88c (Pl. 20, fig. 4), a bird which may represent the eagle appears sitting on a *Cimi* (death) sign. Above in the glyphs the character for the south is shown. Here, clearly, there is some connection between the signs of the cardinal points in the line of glyphs and the various creatures pictured below.



There seems to be only one glyph which can in any way be taken for that of the eagle in the Maya manuscripts and this appears only once, in Tro-Cortesianus 107c (Pl. 20, fig. 9). This identification may be questioned, as there is no drawing of an eagle associated with the glyph. Attention has already been called to the two stone glyphs in Pl. 20, figs. 1, 3. There are various drawings of the glyph for the eagle in the Nahua and Zapotecan codices (Pl. 20, fig. 8), as the Nahua day, *Quauhtli*, has the meaning eagle. It is interesting to note in the glyph from the Nuttall Codex (Pl. 20, fig. 8) the tips of the feathers are crowned with stone points, a frequent way of representing birds of prey among the Mexican peoples.

YUCATAN HORNED OWL (*Bubo virginianus mayensis*). Stempell makes a serious mistake by confusing the eared owl shown in full face with that shown in profile in the drawings, for he considers both to represent the great horned owl. The figures are, however, quite different in every way. The owl in full face view is unquestionably the great horned owl (Maya, *ikim*), the Yucatan form of which is recognized by the subspecific title *mayensis*. This is the bird opposed to the "Moan-bird" which, as will be shown later, is associated with death. In Pl. 21 are some truly remarkable figures which seem to represent this horned owl, the first modelled in stucco from Palenque, the second carved in stone from Yaxchilan, and the third carved in wood from Tikal. Figs. 1 and 3 show the bird in flight with extended wings. The two erectile tufts of feathers or "horns" are conspicuously represented in fig. 3, at either side of the bird's head and between them the flat top of the crown is secondarily divided in like manner into three parts, representing the "horns" and the top of the head. The beetling brows, heavy hooked beak, and spread talons combine to give a fierce and spirited mien to the great bird. Pl. 21, fig. 2, may be a greatly conventionalized owl in which the essential characteristics of the bird are reproduced in a rectangular design. The large bill is conspicuous in the center, and in each upper corner terminates one of the ears. The eyes are represented by

rectangular areas at the base of the bill, each with three vertical bars across it. Below the beak, or at either side of the tip, are the feet, each with the claw cross-hatched. What seem to be the reduced and highly conventionalized wings fill the lower corner of each side of the figure.

The shield in the center of the Tablet of the Sun at Palenque (Pl. 22, fig. 6) shows a face in which the motif seems to be the full-face view of the horned owl. The hooked bill curves over the mouth at each side of which is the curious scroll seen in the same connection in the figures of Pl. 21. The ears are somewhat shorter in proportion than usual and below each, at the sides of the face, is a large ear-plug, similar to that elsewhere found. The eyes are still further conventionalized with a decorative scroll surrounding each. Another example of the conventionalized owl's head is on Stela 1 from Cankuan (Maler, 1908, Pl. 13). We are not yet ready to advance an explanation of the reason why the owl should occupy such a prominent position in the art of the Mayas.

In only one case is the horned owl found in the Maya manuscripts. In Tro-Cortesianus 95c (Pl. 22, fig. 2), this owl appears as the head-dress of a woman in that portion of the codex where baptism and naming are shown. An owl's head seems to be shown on the end of a warrior's staff in the bas-relief of the Lower Chamber of the Temple of the Tigers at Chichen Itza (Pl. 22, fig. 4). Pl. 22, figs. 5, 7, show two owls from the Aubin manuscript; the first is considered to be the screech owl (*chiqualli*) and the second the horned owl (*tecolotl*, in Nahuatl). Pl. 22, figs. 1, 3, show two drawings of owls from Nahua manuscripts.

YUCATAN SCREECH OWL or MOAN BIRD (*Otus choliba thompsoni*). A second species of owl is represented by the figures on Pl. 23. This has likewise two feathered tufts or "ears" on its head and is always shown with the head, at least, in profile, but the tufts one in front, the other at the back of the head. The facial disc is not very prominent the beak rather long, the tail short, and the plumage some-

what mottled. A dark ring usually surrounds the eye. It is, with little doubt, the screech owl, the only other form of eared owl commonly met with in the Central American region, and in Yucatan is represented by the race above indicated. This owl, under the name of the Moan bird,\* is always associated with the idea of death among the Mayas. The familiarity of this species and its mournful quavering cry uttered at night have no doubt led to its association with death and mystery as with owls in other parts of the world.

This Moan bird has an important place in the Maya pantheon, as it is the representative in many places of god A, the Death god. It appears with a human body in Dresden 7c (Pl. 23, fig. 1), 10a (Pl. 23, fig. 8), and 11a (Pl. 23, fig. 3) and in Tro-Cortesianus 66a (Pl. 23, fig. 2). In each of these places, it occupies the space in which one of the regular gods is usually found. In Dresden 10a, the day reached in the *tonalamatl* reckoning is *Cimi*, meaning death, and here, as has been noted, is found the Moan bird, the symbol of death, with another sign of death in the circle just above the head of the bird (Pl. 23, fig. 8).

This owl is used as a head-dress itself, but always for women, Dresden 16a (Pl. 23, fig. 19), 18b (Pl. 23, fig. 5), Tro-Cortesianus 94c (Pl. 23, fig. 4), and 95c (Pl. 23, fig. 20). It occurs in both manuscripts in the pages mentioned several times before, where birth, baptism, and the naming of children are shown. The curious figure, with a head similar to Pl. 23, fig. 21, carried on the back of some of the women, is the Moan sign, referring to the idea of death, possibly to still-birth, as copulation and birth are shown in this section of the codex (Dresden 18c, 19c). The Moan is found associated with man only once in the manuscripts. In Tro-Cortesianus 73b

\*Brinton (1895, p. 74), according to our interpretation, makes a mistake when he considers the crested falcon as the Moan, "in Maya *muan* or *muyan*." He adds, "Some writers have thought the moan bird was a mythical animal but Dr. C. H. Berendt found the name still applied to the falcon. In the form *muyan*, it is akin in sound to *muyal*, cloud, *muan*, cloudy, which may account for its adoption as a symbol of the rains, etc."

(Pl. 23, fig. 18), he is found perching on a curious frame-like structure in which god B is sitting.

There are several glyphs representing the Moan bird or screech owl; the first type is easily identifiable, as the head of the bird is clearly pictured (Pl. 23, figs. 11-14, 16). This head is frequently associated with the number thirteen (Dresden 8b). It may occur in the line of glyphs (Dresden 16c), and refer to the Moan pictured below, or it may occur in the line of glyphs with no picture corresponding to it below (Dresden 53b). Pl. 23, fig. 15, from Dresden 38c has been placed with these drawings, although the identification is not certain. It may refer, however, to the large Moan head below, on which god B is sitting (Pl. 23, fig. 11). The second type of glyph does not resemble in any way the Moan, but they are clearly signs for it, as they are often found in connection with the picture of the Moan, Dresden 7c (Pl. 23, figs. 6, 7, 21) and 10a. In both places fig. 7 is associated with the number thirteen. Schellhas also places Pl. 23, fig. 17, among the Moan signs.

One of the eighteen Maya months is named Muan, and some of the glyphs appearing for this month in the codices certainly represent the Moan or screech owl. This is especially so with text figs. 3-6. Förstemann (1904a) considers



FIGS. 3, 4, 5, 6.

GLYPHS OF MONTH MUAN SHOWING MOAN-BIRD CHARACTERISTICS.

that the month Muan and, consequently, the sign as well, refer to the Pleiades.

In connection with the screech owl referring to death, it is interesting to note that among the Nahuas the owl is considered of unlucky augury and is usually found in the "House of Death" and "of Drought", as contrasted with

the turkey, considered as a bird of good fortune, and found in the "House of Rain."

COPPERY-TAILED TROGAN OR QUETZAL (*Pharomacrus mocinno*). The quetzal is common locally in certain parts of southern Mexico. Its brilliant metallic green plumage and the greatly elongated tail feathers make it a very notable bird. The feathers of the head are erect and stand out as a light crest, those of the anterior portion being slightly recurved. The delicate crest feathers of the head are well indicated in Vaticanus 3773, 17 (Pl. 24, fig. 9) and the tail, also, in this figure, is only slightly conventionalized with an upward instead of the natural downward sweep. In most of the representations, the crest feathers are indicated by large plumes, the most anterior of which project forward. They may be even further modified into three knobs shown in Dresden 7c (Pl. 24, fig. 1). The two characteristics of the quetzal, namely its crest head feathers and its extraordinarily long tail feathers, are often used separately. Thus the tail, which is commonly drawn with the outer feather of each side strongly curled forward, appears by itself in Pl. 24, fig. 8, or it may be seen as a plume in the head-dress of a priest or warrior and in other connections as an ornament. A greatly conventionalized drawing of the bird is also shown in Pl. 24, fig. 11, in which the head bears a curious knob and the dorsal feather of the tail is upcurled in the manner of the other drawings. It is not at once apparent why the long drooping tail feathers should be shown thus recurved. Possibly these feathers, when used by the Mayas for plumes, curled over by their own weight, if held erect, so that the representations are a compromise between the natural appearance and that when used as ornament in the head decoration.

The color of the bird and the very long tail feathers have already been mentioned, and these explain the reason of the importance of this bird among the Mayas. It is claimed by several old authorities that the quetzal was reserved for the rulers, and that it was death for any common person to kill this bird for his own use. It seems from a statement in

Landa (1864, p. 190)\* that birds were domesticated for the feathers. This bird occurs again and again in various modifications throughout the Maya art. The feathers of the quetzal are the ones usually associated with the serpent, making the rebus, *Quetzalcoatl*, the feathered serpent, the culture hero of the Nahuas, or *Kukulcan*, which has the same signification among the Mayas. It is impossible to mention here all the various connections in which the quetzal appears. The feathers play an important part in the composition of

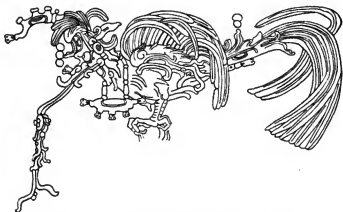


FIG. 7.  
QUETZAL, TEMPLE OF THE CROSS, PALENQUE.

the head-dresses of the priests and warriors, especially those in the stone carvings. A quotation has already been given from Landa, showing the use made of feathers in the dress of the people. Text fig. 7 shows perhaps the most elaborate representation of this bird. It is found on the sculptured tablet of the Temple of the Cross at Palenque. The quetzal is shown seated on top of a branching tree which was long taken to represent a cross. A similar representation is seen

\*"Crian paxaros para su recreacion y para las plumas para hazer sus ropas galanas."

on the tablet of the Temple of the Foliated Cross from the same ruined city. In the Codex Fejervary-Mayer, there are four trees in each of which there is a bird. A quetzal is perched in the one corresponding to the east, which is regarded as the region of opulence and moisture. Seler (1901, p. 17) suggests that the quetzal in the tree on the two bas-reliefs at Palenque may represent a similar idea and that temples which would show the other three trees and their respective birds had not been built in that center.

The representation of the quetzal as an entire bird is, after all, comparatively rare. The most realistic drawing is seen on a jar from Copan in the collections of the Peabody Museum. The whole body of the bird is shown as a head-dress in a few places in the codices where birth and the naming of children are pictured. In Dresden 16e (Pl. 24, fig. 3) and Tro-Cortesianus 94c (Pl. 24, fig. 6), the quetzal is the head-dress of women. In Dresden 13b (Pl. 24, fig. 2), a partial drawing of the bird is shown as a part of the head-dress of god E, in Dresden 7c (Pl. 24, fig. 1) of god H, and in Tro-Cortesianus 110c of god F. The feathers alone appear as a female head decoration in Dresden 20c (Pl. 24, fig. 8). It occurs as a sacrifice among the rites of the four years in Tro-Cortesianus 36b (Pl. 24, fig. 12). In Tro-Cortesianus 70a (Pl. 24, fig. 5), it is found in the act of eating fruit growing over the "young god." In Tro-Cortesianus 100b (Pl. 24, fig. 4), the bird is perched over the encased head of god C.

There seems to be a glyph used for the quetzal. In those drawn in Pl. 24, figs. 10, 17, it is noticeable that the anterior part only of the head is shown. The first is a glyph from the tablet of the Temple of the Sun at Palenque, and at least suggests the quetzal by the feathers on the top of the head, as also Pl. 24, fig. 13, a glyph from Copan, Stela 10, where the entire head appears in a much conventionalized form. Other glyphs are shown in Pl. 24, figs. 14-16, in which there is a single prominent recurved feather shown over the eye, succeeded by a few conventionalized feathers, then one or more directed posteriorly. It is to be noted that whereas in many

previous examples of glyphs the full drawing of the animal or bird has been found in connection with them, here with the quetzal glyphs there is no instance where a drawing of the bird occurs with them. A curious human figure (Pl. 24, fig. 19), with a head decoration similar to the frontal curve and markings on the quetzal glyphs (fig. 14-16), may possibly represent this bird in some relation.

**BLUE MACAW** (*Ara militaris*). A large macaw (Maya, *max* or *tut*) is undoubtedly pictured in the figures in Pl. 25. The least conventionalized drawing found is that shown in Dresden 16c (Pl. 25, fig. 2), a bird characterized by long narrow tail feathers, a heavy bill, and a series of scale-like markings on the face and about the eye. Further conventionalized drawings are found in Pl. 25, figs. 3, 10, 13, and Pl. 26, fig. 1. In all these the tail is less characteristic, though composed of long, narrow feathers, and the facial markings are reduced to a ring of circular marks about the eye. These last undoubtedly represent, as supposed by Stempell, the bare space about the eye found in certain of these large parrots. In addition, the space between the eye and the base of the bill is partially bare with small patches of feathers scattered at somewhat regular intervals in rows. It is probable that this appearance is represented by the additional round marks about the base of the bill in Pl. 25, figs. 1, 2, 5, 8, the last two of which show the head only. There has hitherto been some question as to the identity of certain stone carvings, similar to that on Stela B from Copan, of which a portion is shown in Pl. 25, fig. 8. This has even been interpreted as the trunk of an elephant or a mastodon, but is unquestionably a macaw's beak. In addition to the ornamental cross-hatching on the beak, which is also seen on the glyph from the same stela (Pl. 25, fig. 5), there is an ornamental scroll beneath the eye which likewise is crosshatched and surrounded by a ring of subcircular marks that continue to the base of the beak. The nostril is the large oval marking directly in front of the eye.

The animal in Dresden 40b (Pl. 25, fig. 1) has always



been considered to be a tortoise (Schellhas, 1904, p. 44, and Förstemann, 1904). This animal, together with the dog, is found beneath the constellation signs carrying firebrands; both are regarded as lightning beasts. By comparing the head of the figure shown in Pl. 25, fig. 1, with figs. 2, 4, 5, of the same plate, the reasonableness of the identification of this head as that of a macaw and not that of a tortoise appears clear. The same figure occurs in Tro-Cortesianus 12a (Pl. 25, fig. 3) carrying a torch.

In order to make this point clearer, we will take up the consideration of the glyphs at this place, rather than at the end of the section as usual. As the macaw in Pl. 25, fig. 1, has been hitherto identified as a turtle, so the glyph found in connection with it (Pl. 25, fig. 6) has been considered to stand for the turtle. Pl. 25, fig. 7, is another drawing of the same glyph. By comparing the markings on the face of fig. 1, it is seen that a similar ring surrounds the eye shown on the glyph. The second glyph (Pl. 25, fig. 7) is better drawn and shows, in addition to the eye ring, the slightly erectile feathers at the back of the head. Comparison with the glyphs representing turtles (Pl. 14, figs. 7-10) hitherto confused with these macaw glyphs shows differences, the most important of which are of course the eye ring and the feathers at the back of the head.

Various other glyphs occur which undoubtedly represent the heads either of macaws or smaller parrots. They are, for the most part, glyphs from the stone inscriptions. A crest, resembling that depicted on the head of the quetzal, is found on a glyph on Altar Q from Copan (Pl. 25, fig. 10). The eye ring, however, seems to indicate the macaw which also has slightly erectile feathers on the head. Much doubt is attached to the identification of the glyph of the month *Kayab* from Stela A, Quirigua (Pl. 25, fig. 9). It resembles closely the glyphs of the turtle (Pl. 14, figs. 7-9) and especially that on Pl. 14, fig. 10. The Quirigua glyph has a prominent fleshy tongue, however, like the parrot. From the fact that the glyph is certainly that for the month *Kayab* and the

*Kayab* glyphs in the codices (Pl. 14, fig. 10) resemble the sign for *a*, in the Landa alphabet which seems to stand for *ak* (turtle), we are led to identify this as a turtle rather than a parrot.

The use of the macaw as a lightning beast has already been commented upon. The parrot is also used in the codices as a head-dress. As with several other birds the only places in the manuscripts where the whole bird is shown is in connection with the bearing of children and the baptism. Here the parrot head-dress is seen on women, Dresden 16c (Pl. 25, fig. 2) and Tro-Cortesianus 94c (Pl. 25, fig. 13). There seems to be an exception to the whole bird appearing as a head-dress exclusively with women in Tro-Cortesianus 26c (Pl. 26, fig. 1), where god F appears with a head-dress composed of the whole bird. The bird is also seen as a head-dress on Altar Q from Copan (Pl. 26, fig. 3). The head of the macaw appears as part of the head-dress of god H in Dresden 11a (Pl. 26, fig. 13), god E in Dresden 11b (Pl. 26, fig. 11), god F in Dresden 14b, god D in Tro-Cortesianus 89a (Pl. 26, fig. 5) and of women in Dresden 12b (Pl. 26, fig. 6) and 19a (Pl. 26, fig. 9). In the rites of the four years in Tro-Cortesianus 37b, there are two birds which are quite different from those we have been considering, but which may represent macaws (Pl. 25, fig. 12; Pl. 26, fig. 10).

In the Nuttall Codex, occur several figures of heavy-billed birds that may be macaws or other smaller parrots of the genera *Amazona* or *Pachyrhynchus*. They are not, however, certainly identifiable (Pl. 26, figs. 4, 7).

IMPERIAL WOODPECKER (*Campephilus imperialis*). We have here introduced two drawings from the Nuttall Codex (Pl. 27, figs. 5, 6) which seem to represent the Imperial ivory-billed woodpecker, a large species that occurs in the forests of certain parts of Mexico. The figures show a long-billed bird with acutely pointed tail feathers, a red crest, and otherwise black and white plumage. The red crest of the woodpecker is of course highly conventionalized in the drawings where it is shown as of a number of erect feathers

instead of the prominent occipital tuft of this bird. The crest and particularly the pointed tail feathers and long beak combined with the characteristic coloring seem to leave little doubt as to the identity of the species figured. This bird does not seem to appear in the Maya drawings.

RAVEN (*Corvus corax sinuatus*) (?). There occurs in the Nuttall Codex a figure of a large black bird (Pl. 27, fig. 7), which may be a black vulture, but which, from the presence of what appear as prominent bristles over the nostril, may also be a raven. These bristles are rather prominent in ravens and quite lacking in the vulture, so that we are led to identify the drawing as representing the former bird. We have found no other figures that suggest ravens.

MISCELLANEOUS BIRDS. Four drawings of birds from the Aubin manuscript are shown here (Pl. 27, figs. 8-11), in order that the conventionalization of the bird form may be seen. The first two are supposed to represent the parrot (*cocho*) and the last two the turkey cock (*ucxolotl*). There is little in the drawings by which they can be differentiated. In the codex, the heads of the parrots are colored red. There is no doubt, however, about the identification, as they occur in the same relative position on every page of the manuscript and are two of the thirteen birds associated with the thirteen gods, the "Lords of the House of Day" (Seler, 1900-1901, pp. 31-35). From the foregoing, it may be seen that where there is no question about the identification, the drawing of the bird form is rather carelessly done and no great attempt is made to indicate the special characteristics of the different birds.

As has been shown previously, it is not always possible to identify without question many of the forms appearing in the manuscripts. This is especially true with birds. In Tro-Cortesianus 20c, an unidentifiable bird, painted blue, appears on the top of the staff carried by god F. The head-dress of this same god in Tro-Cortesianus 27c is a bird form and in Tro-Cortesianus 55b, the *tonalamall* figure is a bird whose identity cannot be made out with certainty.

## MAMMALIA

**OPOSSUM** (*Didelphis yucatanensis*, *D. mesamericana*). Figures representing opossums are not with certainty identifiable in the Maya writings. We have provisionally identified as a frog the animal shown in Pl. 29, fig. 6, although at first sight the two median round markings might be taken to represent a marsupial pouch. Stempell considers the animals found in the upper division of Dresden 25-28 as opossums of one of the above species, and this seems very possible. They are shown with long tails, slightly curved at the tips, and with long head and prominent vibrissae. A rather similar figure is found in the Nuttall Codex (Pl. 34, fig. 7). There is nothing, however, that seems to preclude their being dogs and, in our opinion, they represent this animal.

**NINE-BANDED ARMADILLO** (*Tatu novemcinctum*). This is the common species of armadillo (Maya, *wetš*) found throughout the warmer portion of Mexico and Central America, where it is frequently used as an article of food, and its shell-like covering is utilized in various ways. Several representations of it occur in the Tro-Cortesianus (Pl. 29, figs. 1-4), where it is characterized by its scaly covering, long ears and tail, and the moveable bands about the body.

This animal is associated with the bee culture, as it is represented twice in Tro-Cortesianus 103a (Pl. 29, figs. 1, 3) seated below a bee under an overhanging roof. The hunting scenes in the Tro-Cortesianus also show the armadillo; in 48a (Pl. 29, fig. 4) and in 91a it is shown in a pit-fall. In the last case the *Cauac* signs are clearly seen on top of the trap, whereas in the former case the same signs seem to be indicated by the crosses. Finally, this same animal occurs seated in Tro-Cortesianus 92d (Pl. 29, fig. 2) facing a female figure. There seems to be no glyph used in connection with this animal.

**YUCATAN BROCKET** (*Mazama pandora*). Among the numerous representations of deer in the Maya writings, there

is but one that appears to show the brocket. This occurs in Tro-Cortesianus 92a (Pl. 30, fig. 2), where a hoofed animal with a single spike-like horn is shown, seemingly impaled on a stake set in the bottom of a pit-fall. As stated by Stempell, this animal from the character of its horns is probably to be identified as a brocket, though there is nothing to preclude its being a young spike buck of some species of *Odocoileus*.

**YUCATAN DEER** (*Odocoileus yucatanensis*; *O. thomasi*). Several species of small deer (Maya, *ke*) occur in Mexico and Central America whose relationships are not yet thoroughly understood (Pls. 30-32). The species of Yucatan and southern Mexico have small lyrate antlers with few, short tines, rather different from the broader type of the more northern species with well developed secondary tines. The former type of antlers seems to be indicated by the conventionalized structure shown in Pl. 32, figs. 8-12. These probably represent the Yucatan deer or its ally Thomas's deer of southern Mexico. Two of the figures, both from the Nuttall Codex, show the lower incisor teeth (Pl. 32, figs. 8, 11), though in other cases these are omitted. The larger part of the figures of deer represent the does which have no antlers. For this reason it is impossible to distinguish females of the brocket from those of the other species of deer, if indeed, the Mayas themselves made such a distinction. The characteristics of deer drawings are the long head and ears, the prominently elevated tail with the hair bristling from its posterior side (the characteristic position of the tail when the deer is running), the hoofs, and less often the presence of incisors in the lower jaw only and of a curious oblong mark at each end of the eye, possibly representing the large tear gland.

The deer plays a large part in the Maya ceremonials. It is an important, perhaps the most important animal offering as a sacrifice to the gods. Several pages of the Tro-Cortesianus (38-49) are given over to the hunt and the animal usually represented is the deer, the hunters are shown, the methods of trapping, the return from the chase, and the rites in connection with the animals slain. Tro-Cortesianus

48b (Pl. 30, fig. 1) shows the usual method of trapping where the deer is caught by a cord around one of the fore legs. Tro-Cortesianus 91a pictures the same method and 92a (Pl. 30, figs. 2) shows where the deer is caught on a spike in another type of trap. In Tro-Cortesianus 86a (Pl. 31, fig. 5) the deer appears with a rope around his body held by a god who is not easily identified.

Interesting descriptions of the hunt are given in several of the early accounts.\* It will be noted that the hunt was usually connected with the religious rites and the offering of deer meat and various parts of the body of the deer had a ceremonial importance. Attention is called to similar

\**Relación hecha por el Licenciado Palacio al Rey. D. Felipe II* (1866, p. 31). "Lo que hacían en los sacrificios de la pesca y caza, era que tomaban un venado vivo y llevábalo al patio del cu é iglesia que tenían fuera del pueblo y allí lo ahogaban y lo desollaban y le salaban toda la sangre en una olla, y el hígado y bofes y buecos los hacían pedazos muy pequeños y apartaban el corazón, cabeza y pies, y mandaban cocer el venado por sí, la sangre for sí, y mientras esto se cocía, hacían su baile. Tomaban el Papa y sábio la cabeza del venado por las orejas, y los cuatro sacerdotes los cuatro pies, y el mayordomo llevaba un brasero, do se quemaba el corazón con ulí y copa, é incensaban al ídolo que tenían puesto y señalado para la caza y pesca. Acabado el mitote, ofrecían la cabeza y piés al ídolo y chamuscábanla, y después de chamuscada, la llevaban á casa del Papa y se la comía y el venado y su sangre comían los demás sacerdotes delante del ídolo; á los pescados les sacaban las tripas y los quemaban ante el dicho ídolo. Lo propio era con los demás animales."

*Relación de Cotula y Tibolon* (1898, p. 105). "Un dios que dezian que eran benados en matando un yndio un benado benia luego a su dios y con el corazón le untaba la cara de sangre y sino mataba algo aquel día ybase a su casa aquel yndio le quebraba y dabale de cozes diciendo que no era buen dios."

Cogolludo (1688, Book I, Chap. VII, p. 43) "Correan tan pocos los venados, y tan sin espantarse de la gente, que los soldados de á caballo del exercito los alcançavan, y alanceavan, muy á su placer, y de esta suerte mataron muchos de ellos, con que comieron algunos dias después . . . Que en que consistía aquella novedad, de aver tanta maquina de venados, y estar tan mansos? Les dieron por respuesta; Que en aquellos Pueblos los tenían por sus Dioses á los venador; porque su Ídolo Mayor se les avia aparecido en aquella figura."

practices among the Lacandonese, the inhabitants of the region of the Usumacinta at the present time (Tozzer, 1907), where the greater part of the food of the people must, first of all, be offered to the gods before it may be eaten by the natives.

The figures of the deer in the codices are clearly associated with god M, and the latter may be considered a god of the hunt as well as a god of war. It is very unusual to find a quadruped used as a head-dress in any way, and yet in several cases we find god M has the head of a deer as a sort of head covering, Tro-Cortesianus 50b (Pl. 31, fig. 6), 51c (Pl. 31, fig. 7) and 68b. In the first two cases, the god seems to be supplied with a bow and arrow. In a passage in Landa (1864, p. 290)\* there is a description of this very scene.

In the month *Zip*, the hunters each took an arrow and a deer's head which was painted blue; thus adorned they danced. God M is found in one case in the Dresden in connection with the deer. In Dresden 13c the animal is represented as female and is shown in intercourse with god M.

An offering of venison is frequently pictured in the manuscripts. Landa (1864, p. 220)† also furnishes a parallel for this. The haunches of venison arranged as offerings in dishes are realistically seen in a number of representations of religious rites, as in Dresden 28c (Pl. 31, fig. 14) in the last of the rites of the dominical days, 35a (Pl. 31, fig. 12) and in Tro-Cortesianus 5a above the serpent enclosing the body of water, 65a in front of god B or D and 105b (Pl. 31, fig. 13) and 108a (Pl. 31, fig. 15), both of which are in connection with the bee ceremonies.

The head of the deer, rather than the legs, is also shown

\*"Y con su devocion invocavan los caçadores a los dioses de la caça, . . . sacava cada uno una flecha y una calabera de venado, las quales los *chaces* untavan con el betun azul; y untados, bailavan con ellas en las manos unos."

†In the *Múuc* years, he states "davan al sacerdote una pierna de venado" and also in the same month, "Ofrecian a la imagen pan hecho como yemas de ueros y otros como coraçones de venados, y otro hecho con su pimienta desleida."

as an offering, in Tro-Cortesianus 69b with god B and Tro-Cortesianus 78 (Pl. 31, fig. 10) in the line of glyphs. The whole deer may be represented as an offering in Tro-Cortesianus 2b (Pl. 31, fig. 8).\*

There are some examples in the manuscripts where the deer is pictured quite apart from any idea of the hunt or an offering. In Tro-Cortesianus 14b, it is shown on top of the body of one of the large snakes and in Tro-Cortesianus 29c (Pl. 31, fig. 3), it appears seated on the end of a snake-like curve. The deer occurs in Tro-Cortesianus 30b (Pl. 30, fig. 6) in connection with the goddess from whose breasts water is flowing. God B appears in Dresden 41c (Pl. 31, fig. 1) seated on a red deer. The same animal is also to be noted in Dresden 60a (Pl. 30, fig. 5) in connection with the combat of the planets.† A deer is seen in Tro-Cortesianus 92d seated on a mat opposite a female figure in the same manner as the armadillo on the same page and a dog on the preceding page. These, as previously noted, probably refer to cohabitation. On Pl. 32, fig. 9, is a deer from the Percesianus and Pl. 32, fig. 12, shows another from Stela N, east, from Copan.

The Nahuatl day *Maçatl* signifies deer and we naturally find a large number of glyphs representing this animal among the day signs in the Mexican manuscripts (Pl. 31, fig. 9; Pl. 32, figs. 8, 10, 11).

YUCATAN PECCARY (*Tayassu angulatum yucatanense*; *T. ringens*). Peccaries (Maya, *qeqem*) of the *T. angulatum* group are common in Mexico and Yucatan, and a number of local forms have been named. The white-lipped peccaries also occur, but in the figures it is impossible to distinguish the species. These animals are characterized by their prominent snout, curly tail, bristling dorsal crest, and rather formidable tusks, as well as by the possession of hoofs. By these marks most of the figures are readily identifiable (Pl. 32, fig. 1; Pl.

\*Förstemann (1902, p. 20) identifies this animal as a rabbit!

†Förstemann identifies this animal as a dog.



33, figs. 1, 2, 4-6, 9). The tail is, however, often omitted as well as the erect line of bristles down the back. The presence of hoofs and the possession of a truncated pig-like snout are sufficiently characteristic. In the Dresden Codex occur several figures of undoubted peccaries. Two of these are pictured in Pl. 32, figs. 2, 4. In each the hoofs and curly tail appear, and in the latter figure the bristling back is conventionally drawn by a series of serrations. These marks are sufficient to identify the animals. Their heads are further conventionalized, however, by a great exaggeration of the snout beyond that slightly indicated in Pl. 32, fig. 1, and Pl. 33, figs. 6, 9. Other representations of the peccary, are shown in Pl. 32, fig. 5, a man with a peccary's head, and fig. 7 in which the animal's hoofs are replaced by human hands and feet. In both cases the form of the head remains characteristic. A curious combination is shown in Pl. 32, fig. 3, an animal whose head and fore feet are those of a peccary, while the hind feet have five toes, and there is a long tail. The addition of what look like scales is found in a figure from the Dresden (Pl. 32, fig. 6).

The peccary is found in several different connections in the manuscripts. As deer are found associated with the hunt, so, but to a much more limited extent, the peccary. It is represented pictured as being captured in snares of the familiar "jerk-up" type. Similar drawings show this animal caught by the foreleg and held partially suspended, Tro-Cortesianus 49a (Pl. 33, fig. 9),\* 49c (Pl. 33, fig. 1), and 93a (Pl. 33, fig. 4). Tro-Cortesianus 41b also shows the peccary associated with hunting scenes. Another realistic drawing of this animal in Dresden 62 (Pl. 33, fig. 6)† represents him as seated on the open jaws of a serpent connected with a long number series. We are unable to explain the signification of the appearance of the animal in this connection. The peccary

\*This animal has been identified by Stempell as an agouti notwithstanding the hoofs and tusks.

†Förstemann (1906, p. 228) suggests that this animal is a bear.

is pictured in Tro-Cortesianus 27b (Pl. 33, fig. 5) seated on the left hand of the goddess from whose breasts water is flowing.

The peccary seems to be associated with the sky, as it is seen in a conventionalized form in four instances (Dresden 44b, 45b, (Pl. 32, fig. 4) coming from a band of constellation signs and in Dresden 68a (Pl. 32, fig. 2) coming from a similar band with god E sitting underneath.\* Above each of these conventionalized figures occur the corresponding glyph forms (Pl. 33, figs. 7, 8), which show merely the head with the exaggerated upturned snout. There is a striking resemblance between these snouts and those of the stone mask-like figures so frequently represented as a façade decoration in northern Yucatan. The presence in the mouths of the faces there represented of a recurved tusk in addition to other teeth is a further resemblance to the drawings of peccaries. Stempell (1908, p. 718) has reproduced a photograph of these extraordinary carvings and considers them the heads of mastodons, apparently solely on account of the shape of the upturned snout, whose tip in many of the carvings turns forward. They certainly do not represent the heads of mastodons, but we are not ready to say that the peccary is the prototype of these carvings, although the similarity between the glyphs (Pl. 33, figs. 7, 8) and the masks is worthy of note. One point which does not favor this explanation is the fact that on the eastern façade of the Monjas at Chichen Itza where the mask-like panel is seen at its best, we find a realistic drawing of a peccary (Pl. 33, fig. 2) on the band of glyphs over the doorway, and it in no way suggests the head on the panel and is quite different from the head already noted as the glyph of the peccary in the codices.

BAIRD'S TAPIR (*Tapirella bairdi*). No undoubted representations of tapirs occur in the manuscripts here considered.

\*Attention is called to the curious half-human, half-animal figure in Tro-Cortesianus 2a which may suggest the figures in Dresden 44a, 45a and which are here identified as peccaries. Both are descending from the band of constellation signs and the heads of each are not greatly dissimilar.

Possibly tapirs did not live in the country occupied by the Maya peoples. At the present time they are found only to the south of Yucatan. In Central America Baird's and Dow's tapirs are native, the latter, however, more on the Pacific coast. We have included a drawing of an earthenware vessel (Pl. 28, fig. 1) that represents a tapir, about whose neck is a string of Oliva shells. The short prehensile trunk of the tapir is well made and the hoofs are likewise shown. A greatly elongated nose is found in many of the drawings of the deities, but it does not seem clear that these represent trunks of tapirs, or, as suggested by Stempell, mastodons! Two such heads are shown in Pl. 39, figs. 7, 9. These offer a considerable superficial resemblance to that of a tapir, but as no other drawings that might be considered to represent this animal are found, it seems very questionable if the long noses are other than parts of grotesque masks. The superficial resemblance of the curious nose pieces of the masks on the panel of the Maya façades to elephants' trunks does not seem to us especially significant, as otherwise the carvings are quite unlike elephants. They have no great tusks as an elephant should, but, instead, short recurved teeth similar to those representing peccary tusks, as already pointed out.

RABBIT (*Sylvilagus* or *Lepus*). Rabbits and hares from their familiarity, their long ears, and their peculiar method of locomotion, seem always to attract the notice of primitive peoples. Several species occur in Mexico, including the Marsh rabbit (*Sylvilagus truei*; *S. insonus*), various races of the Cottontail rabbit (*S. floridanus connectens*; *S. f. chiapensis*, *S. f. yucatanicus*; *S. aztecus*; *S. orizabae*, etc.) and several Jack rabbits (*Lepus alleni pallitans*; *L. callotis flavigularis*, *L. asellus*). It is, of course, quite impossible to determine to which of these species belong the few representations found. Several drawings, shown in Pl. 30, figs. 3, 4, 7, 8, are at once identifiable as rabbits from their long ears, round heads, and the presence of the prominent gnawing teeth.\*

\*Forstemann (1906, p. 229) suggests that fig. 8 is a walrus!

In two of the figures (Pl. 30, figs. 7, 8), the entire animal is shown, sitting erect on its haunches, the first with one ear in advance of the other, a trait more characteristic of the jack rabbit than of the short-eared rabbits. For convenience of comparison, we have placed beside these two figures one of a deer in much the same position. It is at once distinguished, however, by its long head, longer bushy tail, and by the marks at each end of the eye. What at first sight appear to be two gnawing teeth of the rabbit seem to be the incisors of the lower jaw. This is the animal identified by Stempell as a dog.

The animal shown to be a rabbit in Dresden 61 (Pl. 30, fig. 8) is pictured seated on the open jaws of a serpent in the same way as the peccary on the following page. These two animals, together with two representations of god B and the black god (Dresden 61), are each clearly connected with the serpents on which they are sitting.

The Nahuatl day *Tochtli* signifies rabbit and naturally the animal occurs throughout the Mexican manuscripts as representing this day (Pl. 30, figs. 3, 4).

OTHER RODENTS. We have included in Pl. 29, figs. 5, 7, 8, three undetermined mammals. The second of these is characterized by the two prominent gnawing teeth of a rodent and by its long tail. It may represent a pack rat (*Neotoma*) of which many species are described from Mexico. In its rounded ears and long tail, fig. 5 somewhat resembles fig. 7, but it lacks the gnawing incisors. Still less satisfactory is fig. 8 from Tro-Cortesianus 24d, at whose identity it seems unsafe to hazard a guess. It is shown as eating the corn being sowed by god D.

JAGUAR (*Felis hernandezi*; *F. h. goldmani*). Throughout its range, the jaguar (Maya, *balam* or *tsakmul*) is the most dreaded of the carnivorous mammals. It is, therefore, natural that the Mayas held it in great awe and used it as a symbol of strength and courage. A few characteristic figures are shown in Pl. 34, figs. 1-3; Pl. 35, figs. 5-14. The species represented is probably *Felis hernandezi*, the Mexican

race of jaguar, or one or the other of the more or less nominal varieties named from Central America. The distinguishing mark of the jaguar, in addition to the general form with the long tail, short ears and claws, is the presence of the rosette-like spots. These are variously conventionalized as solid black markings, as small circles, or as a central spot ringed by a circle of dots (Pl. 35, fig. 12). Frequently the solid black spots are used, either in a line down the back and tail or scattered over the body. The tip of the tail is characteristically black, and the teeth are often prominent. Such a figure as this (Pl. 35, fig. 10) Stempell considers to be a water opossum (*Chironectes*), for the reason that it is held by the goddess from whose breast water is flowing. This can hardly be, however, for not only are the markings unlike those of the water opossum, but the large canine tooth indicates a large carnivore. Moreover, the water opossum is a small animal, hardly as big as a rat, of shy and retiring habits, and so is unlikely to figure in the drawings of the Mayas.

As for the significance of the jaguar in the life of the Mayas, it may be said that this animal seems to have played a most prominent part. At Chichen Itza, the building on top of the southern end of the eastern wall of the Ball Court, usually called the Temple of the Tigers, has a line of jaguars carved in stone as frieze around the outside of the building, and in the Lower Chamber of the same structure, the figure of a jaguar (Maudslay, III, Pl. 43) serves as an altar. The front legs and the head of a jaguar often are seen as the support of a seat or altar on which a god is represented as at Palenque in the Palace, House E (Maudslay, IV, Pl. 44) and in the Temple of the Beau Relief (Holmes, 1895-1897, Pl. 20). Altar F at Copan (Pl. 35, fig. 7) shows the same idea. The head of a puma or jaguar (Pl. 34, fig. 6) appears in the bas-relief of the Lower Chamber of the Temple of the Tigers, evidently representing a part of an altar. A realistic carving of a jaguar was found on a stone near the Temple of the Cones at Chichen Itza (Maudslay, III, Pl. 52, fig. a), and another occurs near the present hacienda of Chichen Itza carved in relief on a ledge of rock.

In the Maya manuscripts the jaguar appears in a number of connections. Its mythological character is shown in Dresden 8a (Pl. 35, fig. 5), where it is pictured as the *tonalamall* figure. The day reached here in the reckoning is *Ix*, and this corresponds to the Nahua *Oceolotl*, which means jaguar. In Dresden 26, in the pages showing the ceremonies of the years, the jaguar is carried on the back of the priest, evidently representing one of the year bearers (*Ti cuch haab*). Balam, the name of the jaguar, is the title given to the four *Bacabs* or *Chacs*, the gods of the four cardinal points. In Tro-Cortesianus 64a, two jaguar heads are noted as the end of curious bands of *Caban* signs over a flaming pot. The second one is shown as dead. A jaguar head is employed in two places in the Tro-Cortesianus, 34a and 36a, as a head-dress for a god who is in the act of sowing corn. This animal appears very infrequently in the pages of the Tro-Cortesianus given over to the hunting scenes, 41c, 40c, 43b, and, even here, it never appears in the same way as the deer and peccary, as an animal for sacrifice.

The jaguar as a predacious beast is noted in Tro-Cortesianus 28b (Pl. 35, fig. 8), where it is attacking god F in a similar way as the vultures in the preceding picture. The jaguar appears in Tro-Cortesianus 30b (Pl. 35, fig. 10) seated on the right hand of the goddess from whose breasts water is flowing. The figure in Tro-Cortesianus 12b between the various offerings may be a jaguar or a dog, more probably from its connection with an offering, the dog. A curious modification of the jaguar may be shown in Tro-Cortesianus 20a (Pl. 34, fig. 2), where a god is seated on the gaping jaws of some animal whose identity is uncertain. It may be a serpent, although the black-tipped tail from which the head appears to come certainly suggests the jaguar.

There are several carved glyphs in stone that probably represent jaguars. Two of these (Pl. 28, fig. 4; Pl. 35, fig. 9) have the characteristic round spots, but others are unmarked, and suggest the jaguar by their general character only (Pl. 35, fig. 6). This latter may, of course, represent the puma quite

as well. A realistic jaguar head appears as a glyph in Tro-Cortesianus 2a (Pl. 35, fig. 13). The more usual glyph for the jaguar is more highly conventionalized, although the spots and the short rounded ear are still characteristic (Pl. 35, fig. 11). A slight modification of this glyph appears in Dresden 8a in connection with the full drawing of the animal below.

The Nahua day *Oceolotl*, as already noted, means jaguar, and the jaguar glyph is found among the day signs (Pl. 34, fig. 3). Seler (1904, p. 379) associates the jaguar in the Vaticanus and the Bologna with *Tezcatlipoca*. He notes that the second age of the world, in which the giants lived and in which *Tezcatlipoca* shone as the sun, is called the "jaguar sun." *Tezcatlipoca* is supposed to have changed himself into a jaguar.

**PUMA** (*Felis bangsi costaricensis*). As shown by Stempell, there can be little doubt that some one of the mainly nominal species of Central American puma is represented in Dresden 47 (Pl. 34, fig. 7). This animal is colored reddish in the original, as is the puma, is without spots, although the tip of the tail, as in the pictures of the jaguar, is black. The animal is represented as being transfixed with a spear.\* Another animal colored red in Dresden 41c seems to represent a puma. God B is shown seated upon him. A crude figure from the Painted Chamber of the Temple of the Tigers (Pl. 34, fig. 5) is probably the same species of puma. The cleverly executed head, shown in profile in Pl. 34, fig. 6, is also perhaps the same animal, although it may possibly represent the jaguar. One or the other of these two cats is also intended, in Pl. 34, fig. 4, a drawing of a piece of pottery.

**COYOTE** (*Canis*). Two figures from the Nuttall Codex have been included as possibly representing coyotes (Pl. 35, figs. 1, 2). They are chiefly characterized by their prominent ears and bristling hair, and seem to be engaged in active combat. Coyotes of several species occur in Mexico and though

\*Seler (1904) gives an interesting explanation of the reason why the puma and the other corresponding figures are shown hit with a spear.

not generally regarded as aggressive animals are of a predacious nature. No drawings of the coyote have been noted in the Maya codices.

Dog (*Canis*). The dog (Maya, *peq*) evidently played an important part in the life of the Mayas as it does with other races of men generally. On Pls. 36, 37, we have included certain figures of dogs from several manuscripts. These may represent two breeds, for it is well known that both a hairy and a hairless variety were found by the early discoverers in Mexico.\* Hairiness is more or less clearly indicated in the following figures:—Pl. 36, figs. 1-7, 12; Pl. 37, figs. 4, 5. The figures of dogs usually agree in having a black mark about the eyes that frequently is produced as a downward curved tongue from the posterior canthus. Sometimes, as in Pl. 37, figs. 1-3, 10, this tongue is not blackened. Commonly also black patches are elsewhere distributed on the body, generally on the back. These markings are probably the patches of color separated by white areas that occur frequently in dogs or other animals after long domestication.† We have included among the figures of dogs two in which the eye is differently represented and which are unspotted (Pl. 37, figs. 4, 6). These modifications may have some special significance, but otherwise the animals appear most closely to represent dogs.

We have already suggested that the animal attired in man's clothing, and walking erect in Dresden 25a-28a is likewise a dog, though Stempell believes it to represent the opossum in support of which he calls attention to its prominent vibrissae and slightly curled tail.

\**Relacion de la Ciudad de Merida* (1898, p. 63): "Ay perros naturales dela tierra que no tienen pelo ninguno, y no ladran, que tienen los dientes malos e agudos, las orejas pequeñas, tiesas y levantadas—a estos engordan los yndios para comer y los tienen por gran regalo—estos se juntan con los perros de españa y enjendran y los mestizos que dellos proceden ladran y tienen pelo y tambien los comen los yndios cano a los demas, y tambien los yndios tienen otra suerte de perros que tienen pelo pero tan poco ladran y son del mesmo tamaño que los demas."

†Brinton (1895, p. 72) regards these spots as representing stars.



The dog played a large part in the religion both of the Mayas and the Mexican peoples. It was connected especially with the idea of death and destruction. The Lacandonese of the present time make a small figure of a dog to place on the grave (Tozzer, 1907, p. 47). This is but one of the many survivals of the ancient pre-Columbian religion found among this people. The dog was regarded as the messenger to prepare the way to the other world. Seler (1900-1901, pp. 82-83) gives an interesting parallel of the Nahua idea of the dog and his connection with death. He paraphrases Sahagun as follows: "The native Mexican dogs barked, wagged their tails, in a word, behaved in all respects like our own dogs, were kept by the Mexicans not only as house companions, but above all, for the shambles, and also in Yucatan and on the coast land for sacrifice. The importance that the dog had acquired in the funeral rites may perhaps have originated in the fact that, as the departed of both sexes were accompanied by their effects, the prince by the women and slaves in his service, so the dog was assigned to the grave as his master's associate, friend, and guard, and that the persistence of this custom in course of time created the belief that the dog stood in some special relation to the kingdom of the dead. It may also be that, simply because it was the practice to burn the dead, the dog was looked on as the Fire God's animal and the emblem of fire, the natives got accustomed to speak of him as the messenger to prepare the way in the kingdom of the dead, and thus eventually to regard him as such. At the time when the Spaniards made their acquaintance, it was the constant practice of the Mexicans to commit to the grave with the dead a dog who had to be of a red-yellow color, and had a string of unspun cotton round his neck, and was first killed by the thrust of a dart in his throat. The Mexicans believed that four years after death, when the soul had already passed through many dangers on its way to the underworld, it came at last to the bank of a great river, the Chicunauhapan, which encircled the underworld proper. The souls could get across this river only when they were

awaited by their little dog, who, recognizing his master on the opposite side, rushed into the water to bring him over." (Sahagun, 3 Appendix, Chap. I.)

As might be expected from the foregoing, there are abundant evidences in the manuscripts of the presence of the dog in the various religious rites and especially those which have to do with the other world, the Kingdom of the Dead. In Tro-Cortesianus 35b, 36b, 37a, 37b, the pages showing the rites of the four years, the dog appears in various attitudes. In 35b and 36b, it bears on his back the *Imix* and *Kan* signs, in 37a (Pl. 37, fig. 8) it is shown as beating a drum and singing, in 37b (Pl. 36, fig. 2) it is beside a bowl containing *Kan* signs. In all of these places, the dogs seem to be represented among the various birds and animals which are to be sacrificed for the new years. Landa (1864, p. 216)\* states that in the *Kan* year a dog was sacrificed. In the *Muluc* year, Landa (1864, p. 222)† records that they offered dogs made of clay with bread upon their backs and a *perrito* which had black shoulders and was a virgin. It has already been noted that two of the dogs represented in Tro-Cortesianus 35b and 36b have a *Kan* and *Imix* sign fastened to the back. Moreover, we have also pointed out that the *Kan* sign frequently seems to have the meaning of maize or bread. It will be noted that in Tro-Cortesianus 36b two human feet are shown on each of which is a dog-like animal.‡ These may indicate the dance in which dogs were carried as noted by Landa. Cogolludo (1688, p. 184)§ also mentions a similar

\*"Y que le sacrificassen un perro o un hombre. . . porque hazian en el patio del templo un gran monton de piedras y ponian al hombre o perro que avian de sacrificar en alguna cosa mas alta que el."

†"Avian de ofrescerle perros hechos de barro con pan en las espaldas, y avian de bailar con ellos en las manos las viejas y sacrificarle un perrito que tuviesse las espaldas negras y fuesse virgen."

‡These might quite as well be rabbits as dogs.

§"De los Indios de Cozumèl dize, que aun en su tiempo eran grandes Idolatras, y usaban un bayle de su gentilidad, en el qual flechaban un perro q̃ auian de sacrificar."

dance. Still another reference in Landa (1864, p. 260)\* mentions that in the months *Muan* and *Pax* dogs were sacrificed to the deities.

Reference has already been made to the identification of the four priests at the top of Dresden 25-28 as having the heads of dogs rather than of opossums. It may be suggested that in the rôle of the conductor to the other world the dog is represented as carrying on his back in each case the year which has just been completed and therefore is dead. This, of course, would necessitate the identification of god B, the jaguar, god E, and god A as representing in turn the four years.

The dog, according to Sahagun's account (p. 360) was looked upon as the "Fire God's animal," and as an emblem of fire. This idea is seen frequently in the Maya manuscripts where the dog with firebrands in his paws or attached to his tail is coming head downward from a line of constellation signs, as in Dresden 36a (Pl. 37, fig. 3), 40b (Pl. 37, fig. 1) or is standing beneath similar signs as in Dresden 39a (Pl. 37, fig. 2) and probably in Tro-Cortesianus 13a. His tail alone has the firebrand in Tro-Cortesianus 36b. Firebrands are carried by figures which have been identified by us as dogs in Tro-Cortesianus 24c (Pl. 37, fig. 6), 25c, and 90a. Here the animal is represented as in the air holding his firebrands over a blazing altar beside which god F is seated. In two out of the four cases, F is shown as dead. The dog in these latter examples has his eye composed of the *Akbal* sign. This same glyph can also be made out with difficulty on the forehead of the dog shown in Dresden 36a (Pl. 37, fig. 3). As has been noted, *Akbal* means night and possibly death as well. It is certain that destruction is indicated in the preceding examples as well as in Tro-Cortesianus 87a and 88a (Pl. 37, fig. 4) where the dog is holding four human figures by the hair.

Beyer (1908, pp. 419-422) has identified the dog as the

\*"Donde sacrificavan un perro, manchado por la color del cacao . . . y ofrecianles yguanas de las azules y ciertas plumas de un paxaro."

Pleiades and various other suggestions have been made that the dog represents some constellation. The more common form of spotted dog is shown as a single *tonalamatl* figure in Tro-Cortesianus 25d and 27d (Pl. 36, fig. 14) and an unspotted variety in Dresden 7a (Pl. 37, fig. 10). The dog is frequently shown as copulating with another animal or with a female figure. In Dresden 13c (Pl. 37, fig. 7) the second figure is a vulture, in Dresden 21b (Pl. 37, fig. 5) it is a woman and also in Tro-Cortesianus 91c (Pl. 36, fig. 12).

The same animal appears also in a number of scenes not included in the preceding. In Tro-Cortesianus 88c (Pl. 36, fig. 1) a dog is seated on a crab and seems to be connected with the idea of the north as this sign is noted above the figure; in Tro-Cortesianus 66b (Pl. 36, fig. 3) a dog and another animal (Pl. 32, fig. 3) are seated back to back under a shelter; in Tro-Cortesianus 30b a dog is seated on the right foot of the woman from whose breasts water is streaming; in Dresden 29a (Pl. 37, fig. 12) god B is shown seated on a dog; and, finally, in Dresden 30a (Pl. 37, fig. 9) god B holds the bound dog by the tail over an altar.

The dog appears from numerous references to be used in connection with a prayer for rain. Comargo (1843) in his history of Tlaxcallan states that when rain failed, a procession was held in which a number of hairless dogs were carried on decorated litters to a place devoted to their use. There they were sacrificed to the god of water and the bodies were eaten.

The glyphs associated with the dog are interesting as we have, as in the case with the deer, one showing a realistic drawing of a dog's head in Tro-Cortesianus 91d (Pl. 37, fig. 13) and several others far more difficult of interpretation. Pl. 37, fig. 11, seems to stand for the dog as it is found in several places where the dog appears below, Dresden 21b, 40b. It is thought by some to represent the ribs of a dog which appear in somewhat similar fashion in Pl. 37, fig. 8. Some of the

glyphs in the codices for the month *Kankin* show the same element (text figs. 8-10).

The Nahua day sign *Itzcuintli* signifies dog and corresponds to the Maya *Oc* (Pl. 36, figs. 9-11). This in turn is considered by many to stand for the dog as the animal of



FIGS. 8, 9, 10.

GLYPHS FOR MAYA MONTH KANKIN (RIBS OF DOG).

death and signifies the end. The sore, cropped ears of the domesticated dog are supposed to be represented in this sign, *Oc*. Nahua and other day signs for *Itzcuintli* (dog) are shown in Pl. 36, figs. 4, 6, 13.

BEAR (*Ursus machetes*; *U. horriacus*). In northern Mexico, in Chihuahua and Sonora, occur a black bear (*Ursus machetes*) and the Sonoran grizzly (*U. horriacus*). It is unlikely that the Mayas had much acquaintance with these animals since they range more to the northward than the area of Maya occupation. Stempell has identified as a bear, a figure in Dresden 37a (Pl. 35, fig. 3). This represents a creature with the body of a man walking erect but with the head apparently of some carnivorous mammal, as shown by the prominent canine tooth. This appears as a *tonalamatl* figure. The resemblance to a bear is not very clear. Less doubt attaches to the figure shown in Pl. 35, fig. 4, which seems almost certainly to depict a bear. The stout body, absence of a tail, the plantigrade hind feet, and stout claws, all seem to proclaim it a bear of one of the two species above mentioned. This picture is found in connection with one of the warriors shown in the bas-relief of the Lower Chamber of the Temple of the Tigers at Chichen Itza. It seems clearly to designate the figure in much the same way as figures are

named in the Mexican writings, i.e., by having a glyph showing this nearby. Attention has already been called to the fact that here at Chichen Itza, and, especially on this bas-relief, there is much which shows a strong influence from the north. The two figures in Tro-Cortesianus 43a are probably bears. Förstemann (1902, p. 68) considers that they are men masked as *Chacs* or *Bacabs*.

**LEAF-NOSED BAT** (*Vampyrus spectrum*; *Artibeus jamaicensis*; or *Phyllostomus hastatus panamensis*). Several remarkably diabolical representations of bats (Maya, *soo*, usually written *zotz*) occur among the Maya remains. These all show the prominent nose leaf distinguishing the family *Phyllostomatidae* and, as the Mayas probably used the largest and most conspicuous of the native species for artistic representation, it is likely that some one of the three species above mentioned is the one here shown.

The bat had a place in the Maya pantheon. One of the



FIGS. 11, 12, 13, 14.

GLYPHS FOR MAYA MONTH ZOTZ (BATS).

months of the Maya year (*Zotz*) was named after this animal and the glyph for this month shows the characteristic nasal appendage. This is to be seen more clearly in the glyphs selected from the stone inscriptions (Pl. 38, figs. 1, 2, 4-6) than in those from the codices (text figs. 11-14) although the nose leaf is still visible in the latter. The day sign *Akbal* (night) occurs as the eye in the figures from the manuscripts. A carving showing the whole body of the bat is used as a glyph in Stela D from Copan (Pl. 38, fig. 3). This may also represent the Bat god who is associated with the underworld, "the god of the caverns." This god is pictured on the "Vase of Chama" (Pl. 38, fig. 7) figured by Dieseldorff (1904, pp.

665-666) and by Gordon (1898, Pl. III). Seler (1904a) has discussed the presence of this god among the Mayas, the Zapotecs, and the Nahuas. The bat does not seem to occur in the Maya manuscripts as a god, although there are glyphs which seem to refer to this god (Dresden 17b), as pointed out by Seler, when there is no other representation of this deity.

No doubt in the times of the Maya civilization, these bats haunted the temples by day as they do now, and thus became readily endowed with a religious significance.

CAPUCHIN MONKEY (*Cebus capucinus*,—*C. hypoleucus* Auct.) With the possible exception of one or two figures,



FIG. 15.  
POTTERY WHISTLE, APE. FROM ULOA VALLEY, HONDURAS.

monkeys (Maya, *maas* or *baa*) are not represented in the Maya codices examined. In Tro-Cortesianus 8Sc (Pl. 39, fig. 4) occurs a curious nondescript animal with what seem to be hoofs on the forefeet, a somewhat bushy tail of moderate length, and a head that appears to be distinctly bonneted, somewhat as in the representations of the capuchin. Stempehl regards this as a monkey, though recognizing that the short bushy tail is unlike that of any Central American species. The figure seems quite as likely a peccary or possibly a combination of a deer with some other animal. A glyph (Pl. 39, fig. 5) found directly above the figure just referred

to, suggests a monkey, though it cannot be surely identified. A pottery whistle from the Uloa Valley (text fig. 15) shows two monkeys standing side by side with a posterior extension for the mouth piece. Their heads are shaped as in other representations of this monkey with a distinct cap or bonnet and facial discs. A pottery stamp from the same locality shows a monkey with a long tail (Gordon, 1898, Pl. 11, fig. f). It recalls the drawings of monkeys given by Strebel (1899, Pls. 1-4).

In the Nuttall Codex are numerous heads and a few other figures of a monkey, which from the erect hair of the crown, curling tail, and distinctly indicated facial area must be the common bonneted or capuchin monkey of Central America. This species does not occur in Yucatan. What is undoubtedly the same animal is shown as a head glyph in Pl. 39, fig. 8, from the Aubin manuscript. The identifications of the head-forming glyphs in the Nuttall and the Aubin manuscripts



FIGS. 16, 17, 18, 19.

GLYPHS FOR MAYA DAY CHUEN.

are certainly correct as the Nahuatl day sign (*Oçomatli*) means ape.

Text figs. 16-19, show some of the signs for the day *Chuen* from the Maya codices. This is the day corresponding to the day *Oçomatli* of the Nahuas. There is little resembling an ape in the Maya signs although it has been remarked that the sign may show the open jaws and teeth of this animal.

Förstemann (1897) as noted by Schellhas (1904, p. 21) alludes to the fact that the figure of god C, which occurs also in the sign for the north, in the *tonalamatl* in Dresden 4a-10a occurs in the day *Chuen* of the Maya calendar, and this corre-



sponds to the day *Oçomalli*, the ape, in the Nahua calendar. This would suggest a connection between god C and the ape and this may be seen in the glyphs for god C (text figs. 20-24). Förstemann sees "an ape whose lateral nasal cavity (peculiar to the American ape or monkey) is occasionally represented plainly in the hieroglyph picture." He also associates god C with the constellation of Ursa Minor.



FIGS. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.

GLYPHS OF GOD C.

It will be seen from the detailed examination of the fauna shown in the codices that after all a comparatively small part of the animal life of the country occupied by the Maya speaking peoples is represented. The drawings in some cases are fairly accurate, so that there is little difficulty in determining the species intended by the artist. At other times, it is hazardous to state the exact species to which the animal belongs. It is only in a comparatively small number of cases, however, that there is any great doubt attached to the identification. It will be noted that the drawings of the Dresden manuscript are much more carefully and accurately done than those of the Tro-Cortesianus. A greater delicacy and a more minute regard for detail characterize the Dresden drawings in general.

In the animals selected for reproduction by the Mayas, only those were taken which were used either in a purely religious significance for their mythological character (and here naturally there is to be noted an anthropomorphic tendency) or animals were chosen which were employed as offerings to the many different gods of the Maya pantheon. The religious character of the whole portrayal of animal life in the codices is clearly manifest, and it is this side of the subject which will come out more clearly as the manuscripts are better known.

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PLATE 1  
MOLLUSCA

FASCIOLARIA GIGANTEA

1. Man emerging from shell, Dresden 41b.
2. Same, Borgia 4.
3. Bologna 4.
4. Dresden 37b.
5. Vaticanus 3773, 66.
6. Nuttall 16.
7. Sign for zero, Dresden 64.
8. Glyph, Dresden 41b.
9. Nuttall 16.

OLIVA

- 10, 11. Sign for zero, Dresden 63.
12. Same, Dresden 55b.

OTHER MOLLUSCA

13. Sign for zero, Dresden 54b.
14. Same. Bivalve, Dresden 63.
15. Bivalve, Nuttall 25.
16. Nuttall 49.
17. Nuttall 23.
18. Nuttall 16.
19. Nuttall 36.
20. Nuttall 75.
21. Bivalve closed, seen in profile, Nuttall 75.
22. Same, Nuttall 25.
23. Probably bivalve, Nuttall 16.
24. Same. Nuttall 36.

PLATE 1



## PLATE 2

### INSECTA

#### HONEY BEE (*Melipona*)

1. Possibly a drone, Tro-Cortesianus 108a.
- 2, 3. Tro-Cortesianus 108a.
- 4, 6 Bees more conventionalized, Tro-Cortesianus 80b.
5. Bee and honey comb, Tro-Cortesianus 109c.
7. Honey combs, apparently in a hive, Tro-Cortesianus 11c.
8. Maya day sign, *Cauac*, possibly representing a honey comb, Tro-Cortesianus 106b.
9. Tro-Cortesianus 103c.
10. Honey combs in a hive, Tro-Cortesianus 104a.
11. Bee and honey comb, Tro-Cortesianus 109c.





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PLATE 3  
INSECTA AND MYRIAPODA

1. Maggots, probably of Blowfly (*Sarcophaga*), Tro-Cortesianus 27d.
2. Same, Tro-Cortesianus 24d.
3. Larva of *Acentrocneme kollari*, Tro-Cortesianus 28c.
4. Conventionalized insect, possibly a hornet, Nuttall 3.
5. Conventionalized insect, unidentified, Nuttall 19.
6. Same, Nuttall 55.
7. Same, Nuttall 51.
8. Butterfly or moth, Nuttall 19.
9. Butterfly, Aubin.
10. Maya day sign, *Akbal*, possibly representing the head of a centipede.
11. Glyph belonging to god D, apparently composed of signs for centipede, Dresden 7b.
12. Glyph for god D, Dresden 14b.
13. Glyph, Dresden 44b.
14. Same, Dresden 27a.
15. Centipede in connection with head-dress of god D, Dresden 15c.
16. Glyph, Dresden 9b.
17. Same, Dresden 15c.
18. Centipede in connection with head-dress of god D, Dresden 7c.



PLATE 4

ARACHNOIDEA, ARACHNIDA, CRUSTACEA

1. Scorpion and deer, Tro-Cortesianus 48c.
2. Scorpion with sting conventionalized as a hand, Tro-Cortesianus 44c.
3. Scorpion highly conventionalized, Nuttall 22.
4. Spider, possibly a tarantula, Borbonicus 9.
5. Crayfish, Nuttall 16.
6. Crab, Nuttall 37.

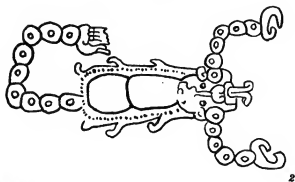
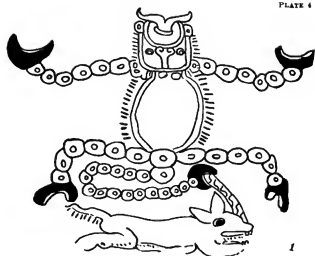
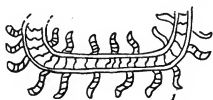


PLATE 5  
MYRIAPODA, PISCES

1. Parts of a conventionalized centipede with quetzal tail, Vaticanus 3773, 13.
2. Fish with teeth, Chichen Itza, Temple of the Tigers, Lower Chamber (Maudslay, III, Pl. 48).
3. Fish captured by heron, Dresden 36b. (Compare Pl. 15, fig. 5.)
4. Chichen Itza, Temple of the Tigers, Lower Chamber (Maudslay, III, Pl. 45).
5. Fish.
6. Pottery fish, Chajcar (Maudslay, IV, Pl. 93).
7. Same.
8. Fish as offering, Tro-Cortesianus 3a.
9. Same, Dresden 29b.



## PLATE 6

### PISCES

1. Possibly a flying-fish (*Exocetus*), Nuttall 75.
2. Palenque, Temple of the Cross (Maudslay, IV, Pl. 68).
3. Nuttall 36.
- 4, 5. Glyphs, possibly of a shark, Dresden 40a.
6. Fish as offering, Dresden 27c.
7. Fish without dorsal fins, possibly an eel (*Muraena*), Dresden 65b.
8. Fish as offering, Dresden 23b.
9. Pottery animal from Santa Rita (Gann, 1897-1898, Pl. 34).
10. Dresden 44c.
11. Nuttall 16.
12. Palenque, Palace (Maudslay, IV, Pl. 11).
13. Fish as offering, Dresden 33a.
14. Fish as part of the Great Cycle glyph, Copan, Stela C, north (Maudslay, I, Pl. 41).
15. Same, Copan, Stela C, south (Maudslay, I, Pl. 41.)
16. Same, Copan, Stela D (Maudslay, I, Pl. 48).
17. Same, Copan, Stela C, south (Maudslay, I, Pl. 41).





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PLATE 7  
AMPHIBIA

1. Frog (*Rana*), Tro-Cortesianus 31a.
- 2, 3. Same, Tro-Cortesianus 101d.
4. Probably a toad (*Bufo*), Copan, Oblong altar (Maudslay, I, Pl. 114).
5. Frog or toad, Tro-Cortesianus 17b.
6. Frog and fish, Copan, Altar O (Maudslay, I, Pl. 85).
7. Chichen Itza, Temple of the Tigers, Lower Chamber (Maudslay, III, Pl. 46).



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PLATE 8

AMPHIBIA, REPTILIA

1. God F representing a tree-toad (*Hyla eximia*), Tro-Cortesianus 26b.
2. Glyph evidently belonging to fig. 3, Tro-Cortesianus 26a.
3. Same as fig. 1, Tro-Cortesianus 26a.
4. Snake, Nuttall 6.
5. Same, Nuttall 45.
6. Same, Nuttall 37.
7. Snake used as head-dress of a woman, Dresden 39b.
8. Same, Dresden 23b.
9. Same, Dresden 43b.
10. Same, Dresden 22b.
11. Same, Dresden 9c.
12. Same, Dresden 15b.
13. Same, Dresden 18a.
14. Dresden 42a.
15. Same as figs. 7-13, Dresden 20a.

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PLATE 9  
REPTILIA

RATTLESNAKE (*Crotalus*)

1. Tro-Cortesianus 33b.
2. Nahua day sign, *Couatl*, Aubin 10.
3. Tro-Cortesianus 52c.
4. Tro-Cortesianus 40b.
5. Chichen Itza, Temple of the Tigers, Painted Chamber  
(Maudslay, III, Pl. 40).
6. Nuttall 29.
7. Glyph representing rattles, Tro-Cortesianus 106c.
8. Tro-Cortesianus 100d.
9. Chichen Itza, Temple of the Tigers, Painted Chamber  
(Maudslay, III, Pl. 40).
10. Nuttall 54.

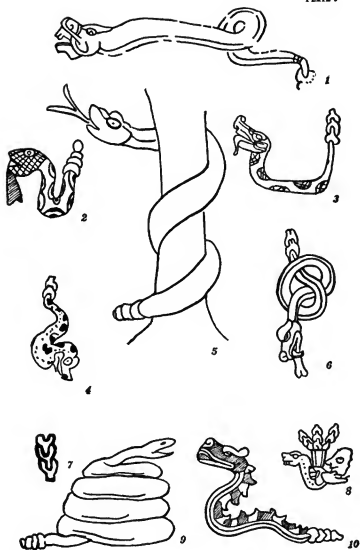


PLATE 10

REPTILIA

SERPENTS

1. Tree snake (possibly *Lachesis*), Dresden 27c.
2. Nuttall 37.
3. Dresden 57b.
4. Nuttall 5.
5. Nuttall 37.
6. Nuttall.
7. Serpent in connection with long number series, Dresden 62.
8. Dresden 37b.
9. Dresden 40c.





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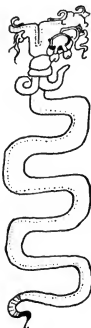
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PLATE 11

REPTILIA

SERPENTS

1. Large snake with conventionalized spots, Tro-Cortesianus  
30a.
2. Tro-Cortesianus 31b.

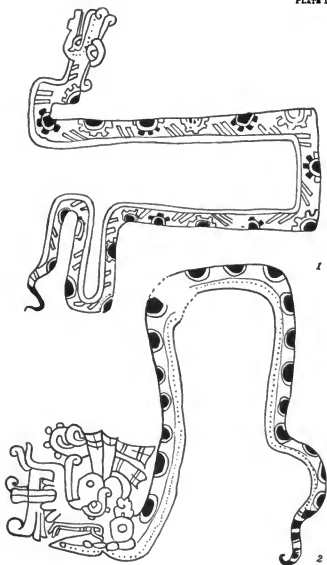


PLATE 12

REPTILIA

IGUANA, LIZARDS

1. Iguana as offering, Tro-Cortesianus 105c.
2. Iguana, Tro-Cortesianus 3b.
3. Iguana, as offering with *Kan*, Dresden 43c.
4. Same, Tro-Cortesianus 107b.
5. Same, Tro-Cortesianus 6a.
6. Same, Dresden 29b.
7. Offering, possibly representing a lizard, Dresden 27b.
8. Same, Dresden 34a.
9. Lizard used for *Uinal* glyph, Copan, Stela D, gl. 4.  
(Maudslay, I, Pl. 48).
10. Nahua day sign, *Cuetzpalin* (lizard), Aubin 10.
11. Lizard, Dresden 3a.
12. Nuttall 10.
13. Offering, the portion with serrated margin possibly  
representing an iguana, Tro-Cortesianus 12b.
14. Lizard, Nuttall 2.



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PLATE 13

REPTILIA

CROCODILE (*Crocodilus*)

1. Glyph of the Nahua day sign, *Cipaelli*, Nuttall 1.
2. Crocodile represented by head and limb, Nuttall 36.
3. Same as fig. 1, Nuttall 1.
4. Same as fig. 1, Nuttall 4.
5. Same as fig. 1, Nuttall 9.
6. Same as fig. 1, Nuttall 47.
7. Same as fig. 1, Nuttall 1.
8. Nuttall 75.
9. Head of lizard or possibly crocodile used as a *Uinal* glyph, Palenque, Temple of the Foliated Cross (Maudslay, IV, Pl. 82, gl. 6).
10. Head of crocodile, Dresden 52b.
11. Head, possibly of a crocodile, Palenque, Temple of the Foliated Cross (Maudslay, IV, Pl. 82, gl. 0, 4).
12. Conventionalized head of a crocodile, Dresden 53b.

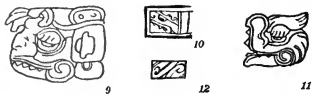
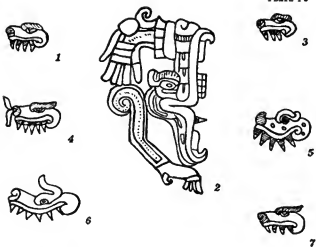


PLATE 14  
REPTILIA

TURTLES

1. Turtle, Tro-Cortesianus 19b.
2. Same, Tro-Cortesianus 17b.
3. Swimming turtle, Tro-Cortesianus 17a.
4. Possibly representing a turtle, Nuttall 33.
5. Turtle, Tro-Cortesianus 81c.
6. Freshwater turtle (*Chelydra*) with leeches attached, Tro-Cortesianus 72b.
7. Glyph for fig. 3.
8. Glyph.
9. Glyph.
10. Glyph.
11. Turtle, Nuttall 43.
12. Turtle god, *Aac*, Dresden 49.





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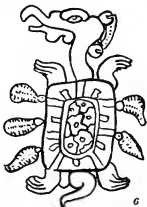
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PLATE 15

AVES

HERONS FRIGATE BIRD

1. Heron, stueco ornament, Palenque, Palace, House B (Maudslay, IV, Pl. 18).
2. Heron head-dress, Chichen Itza, Temple of the Tigers, Lower Chamber (Maudslay, III, Pl. 45).
3. Head and neck of a heron, Dresden 37b.
4. Heron, Nuttall 74.
5. Heron with fish, Palenque, Temple of the Cross, West side panel (Maudslay, IV, Pl. 71).
6. Heron
7. Heron with a fish as a head-dress, Dresden 36a.
8. Fork-tailed bird, probably a Frigate bird (*Fregata aquila*), Tro-Cortesiano 34a.
9. Same, arranged for offering, Dresden 35a.



PLATE 16

AVES

OCELLATED TURKEY (*Agriocharis ocellata*)

1. Turkey in trap, Tro-Cortesianus 93a.
2. Turkey, Tro-Cortesianus 10b.
3. Turkey snared, Tro-Cortesianus 91a.
4. Tro-Cortesianus 4a.
5. Tro-Cortesianus 95c.
6. Tro-Cortesianus 37b.
7. Vaticanus 3773, 14.
8. Tro-Cortesianus 36a.
9. Whole turkey as offering, Dresden 26c.
10. Head of turkey as offering, Dresden 34a.
11. Same, Tro-Cortesianus 12b.
12. Same, Tro-Cortesianus 105b.
13. Dresden 20a.
14. Head of turkey as offering, Dresden 41c.
15. Same, Tro-Cortesianus 107b.
16. Same, Dresden 29c.
17. Same, Dresden 28c.



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PLATE 17

AVES

KING VULTURE (*Sarcorhamphus papa*)

1. Tro-Cortesianus 67a.
2. Tro-Cortesianus 22c.
3. God with head of King Vulture, Dresden 19a.
4. King Vulture and Ocellated Turkey, Tro-Cortesianus 85a.
5. Glyph, showing head, Dresden 39c.
6. Same, Tro-Cortesianus 107c.
7. Same, Dresden 38b.
8. Same.
9. King Vulture, tearing out entrails of deer, Tro-Cortesianus 40a.
10. *Tun* period glyph (Maudslay, IV, Pl. 89).
11. Tro-Cortesianus 94c.
12. Tro-Cortesianus 26c.
13. Glyph, Chichen Itza, Monjas, east (Maudslay, III, Pl. 13).



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PLATE 18

AVES.

KING VULTURE (*Sarcorhamphus papa*), BLACK VULTURE  
(*Catharista urubu*)

1. Glyph of head of King Vulture, Dresden 11b.
2. Glyph for Nahua day sign, *Cozcauauhtli*, Nuttall 5.
3. Same as fig. 2, Nuttall 41.
4. Same as fig. 2, Nuttall 5.
5. Same as fig. 2, Nuttall 4.
6. Same as fig. 2, showing considerable conventionalization. Nuttall 2.
7. Same as fig. 2, Nuttall 3.
8. Same as fig. 2, further reduced, Nuttall 18.
9. Same as fig. 2, Nuttall 3.
10. Same as fig. 2, Nuttall 20.
11. Probably a Black Vulture, Tro-Cortesianus 95c.
12. Black Vulture, Tro-Cortesianus 70a.
13. Same, Dresden 17b.
14. Possibly a Black Vulture, Chichen Itza, Monjas, east (Maudslay, III, Pl. 13).
15. Head of Black Vulture, Nuttall 32.
16. Glyph of head of same, Dresden 54b.
17. Black Vulture, Tro-Cortesianus 36b.
18. Head of same, Tro-Cortesianus 26c.
19. Same, Dresden 39c.
20. Same, Nuttall 19.
21. Same, Nuttall 34.
22. Same, Dresden 37c.
23. Same, Nuttall 27.
24. Same, Nuttall 1.
25. Same, Nuttall 34.
26. Same, Nuttall 9.
27. Same, Tro-Cortesianus 19b.





PLATE 19

AVES.

VULTURES

1. Vulture (probably a King Vulture) tearing at entrails of an animal, Tro-Cortesianus 42a.
2. Nuttall 69.
3. Nuttall 74.
4. Possibly a Black Vulture, Tro-Cortesianus 35b.
5. Tro-Cortesianus 26d.
6. Tro-Cortesianus 26d.
7. Dresden 3a.
8. Glyph, Copan (Maudslay, I, Pl. 16).
9. Glyph, Copan, Altar K (Maudslay, I, gl. 73).
10. Glyph, Tikal, House 9 (Maudslay, III, Pl. 79).
11. Black Vulture and snake, Dresden 36b.
12. Probably vultures, Tro-Cortesianus 100b.
13. Probably a vulture, Tro-Cortesianus 18b.
14. Same, Temple of the Tigers, Lower Chamber, Chichen Itza (Maudslay, III, Pl. 46).



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PLATE 20

AVES

HARPY EAGLE (*Thrasaetos harpyia*)

1. Glyph, Copan (Maudslay, I, Pl. 16, gl. 3).
2. Nuttall 53.
3. Glyph, Copan (Maudslay, I, Pl. 16, gl. 13).
4. Tro-Cortesianus 88c.
5. Part of a head-dress, Dresden 14c.
6. Peresianus 2.
7. Dresden 14b.
8. Eagle with crest feathers tipped by flints, Nuttall
9. Glyph, Tro-Cortesianus 107c.
10. Stone carving, Chichen Itza (Maudslay, III, Pl. 52).
11. Dresden 23c.
12. Possibly an eagle's head, Dresden 43c.
13. Possibly an eagle, Dresden 74.
14. Bologna 7.



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PLATE 21

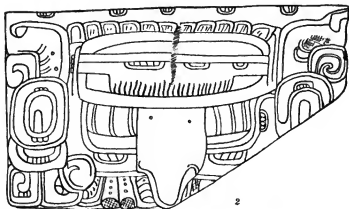
AVES

YUCATAN HORNED OWL (*Bubo virginianus mayensis*)

1. Owl in flight, Stucco ornament, Palenque, Palace, House E (Maudslay, IV, Pl. 43).
2. Stone carving of owl, Yaxchilan, Stela 4 (Peabody Museum Memoirs, II, Pl. 70).
3. Owl in flight, carved in wood, Tikal, House C, lintel (Maudslay, III, Pl. 78).



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PLATE 22

AVES

YUCATAN HORNEO OWL (*Bubo virginianus mayensis*)

1. Bologna 7.
2. As a head-dress, Tro-Cortesianus 95c.
3. Borgia 7.
4. On end of staff carried by warrior, Chichen Itza, Temple of the Tigers, Lower Chamber (Maudslay, III, Pl. 49).
5. Aubin 13.
6. Head highly conventionalized, Palenque, Temple of the Sun (Maudslay, IV, Pl. 88).
7. Screech-owl (*chiquàtli*), Aubin.





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PLATE 23

AVES

YUCATAN SCREECH OWL or MOAN-BIRD (*Otus choliba thompsoni*)

1. Dresden 7c.
2. Tro-Cortesianus 66a.
3. Dresden 11a.
4. As a head-dress, Tro-Cortesianus 94c.
5. As a head-dress, Dresden 18b.
6. Glyph associated with Moan-bird, Dresden 7c.
7. Same, Dresden 7c.
8. Dresden 10a.
9. Peresianus 10.
10. Peresianus 5.
11. Glyph representing head, Dresden 38c.
12. Same, Dresden 8b.
13. Same, Dresden 53b.
14. Same, Dresden 16c.
15. Glyph possibly representing Moan-bird, Dresden 38c.
16. Glyph of head, Dresden 53b.
17. Glyph associated with Moan-bird.
18. Tro-Cortesianus 73b.
19. As a head-dress, Dresden 16c.
20. As a head-dress, Tro-Cortesianus 95c.
21. Glyph associated with Moan-bird, Dresden 7c.



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## PLATE 24

### AVES

#### COPPERY-TAILED TROGON OR QUETZAL (*Pharomacrus mocinno*)

1. Head-dress with crest feathers shown as knobs, Dresden 7c.
2. Head-dress, Dresden 13b.
3. Same, Dresden 16c.
4. Tro-Cortesianus 100b.
5. Tro-Cortesianus 70a.
6. Head-dress, Tro-Cortesianus 94c.
7. Nuttall 33.
8. Conventionalized tail as a head ornament, Dresden 20c.
9. Vaticanus 3773, 17.
10. Glyph, Palenque, Temple of the Sun (Maudslay, IV, Pl. 89, gl. O, 9).
11. Trogon descending on a sacrifice, Bologna 8.
12. Tro-Cortesianus 36b.
13. Glyph, Copan (Maudslay, I, Pl. 111, gl. 54).
14. Glyph apparently representing a trogon's head, Dresden 20c.
15. Same, Dresden 9b.
16. Same, Dresden 3a.
17. Head, Nuttall 43.
18. Tro-Cortesianus 26c.
19. Figure with head ornament resembling a trogon glyph, Dresden 20c.



PLATE 25

AVES

BLUE MACAW (*Ara militaris*)

1. Figure with macaw head and holding firebrands, Dresden 40b.
2. Head-dress, Dresden 16c.
3. Tro-Cortesianus 12a.
4. Glyph, Copan, Stela 11 (Maudslay, I, Pl. 112, gl. 12).
5. Same, Copan, Stela B (Maudslay, I, Pl. 38).
6. Glyph used in connection with fig. 1.
7. Glyph.
8. Stone carving of upper mandible and head, Copan, Stela B (Maudslay, I, Pl. 37).
9. Head, probably of a turtle, month sign *Kayab*, Quirigua, Stela A (Maudslay, II, Pl. 7, gl. 14).
10. Head, probably of a macaw, Copan, Altar Q (Maudslay, I, Pl. 93).
11. Tro-Cortesianus 37b.
12. Head, probably of a macaw, Copan, Stela A (Maudslay, I, Pl. 30, gl. 19).
13. Tro-Cortesianus 94c.



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PLATE 26

AVES

PARROTS, TURKEYS

1. Macaw as a head-dress, Tro-Cortesianus f. 26c.
2. Bird of sacrifice, doubtless an Ocellated Turkey (*Agriocharis*) Dresden 25c. (Compare also Dresden 26c 27c, 28c.)
3. Head-dress, probably a macaw, Copan, Altar Q (Maudslay, I, Pl. 92).
4. Possibly a parrot (*Amazona*), Nuttall 4.
5. Head-dress, head of a macaw, Tro-Cortesianus 89a.
6. Head-dress, possibly representing a parrot, Dresden 12b.
7. Possibly a parrot (*Amazona*), Nuttall 71.
8. Glyph representing a macaw's head, Tikal, Temple C (Maudslay, III, Pl. 78).
9. Parrot-like head-dress, Dresden 19a.
10. Possibly a macaw, Tro-Cortesianus 37b.
11. Parrot-like head-dress, Dresden 11b.
12. Bird of sacrifice, probably an Ocellated Turkey or a Chachalaca, Nuttall 22.
13. Parrot-like head-dress, Dresden 11a.
14. ♀ Head of Ocellated Turkey or a Chachalaca, Nuttall 5.





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PLATE 27

AVES

MISCELLANEOUS

1. Bird of sacrifice, an Ocellated Turkey or a Chachalaca, Nuttall 2.
2. Same, Nuttall 16.
3. Same, Nuttall 19.
4. Same, Nuttall 1.
5. Woodpecker possibly *Campephilus imperialis*, Nuttall 74.
6. Same, Nuttall 71.
7. Possibly a Raven (*Corvus corax sinuatus*), Nuttall 48.
8. Parrot (*cocho*), Aubin 11.
9. Same, Aubin 13.
10. Turkey-cock (*uexolot*), Aubin 11.
11. Same, Aubin 13.



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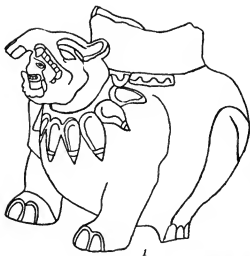


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## PLATE 28

### VARIOUS ANIMALS

1. Earthenware vessel representing a tapir (*Tapirella*) with a necklace of Oliva shells (Seler, 1904b, p. 106, fig. 23).
2. Stone carving, possibly of a King Vulture (*Sarcorhamphus papa*), Copan, Altar T (Maudslay, I, Pl. 96).
3. Stone carving, possibly a lizard, Copan, Stela 6 (Maudslay I, Pl. 107).
4. Stone carving, probably a jaguar (*Felis onca hernandesi*), Copan, Stela 2 (Maudslay, I, Pl. 102).
5. Stone carving of a Black Vulture (*Catharista urubu*), Copan, Stela D (Maudslay, I, Pl. 48).
6. Lizard (?) attacked by two birds (?) perhaps vultures, Quirigua, Altar B (Maudslay, II, Pl. 15).



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PLATE 29  
MAMMALIA

ARMADILLO AND MISCELLANEOUS

1. Nine-banded Armadillo (*Tatu novemcinctum*), Tro-Cortesianus 103a.
2. Same, Tro-Cortesianus 92d.
3. Same, Tro-Cortesianus 103a.
4. Armadillo captured in a pitfall, Tro-Cortesianus 48a.
5. Undetermined animal, Dresden 14e.
6. Undetermined animal, possibly a frog or a marsupial, Tro-Cortesianus 33a.
7. Rodent, Nuttall 11.
8. Undetermined animal, Tro-Cortesianus 24d.



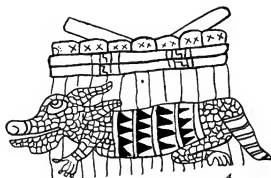
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PLATE 30  
MAMMALIA  
DEER, HARE

1. Yucatan deer, caught in a snare, Tro-Cortesianus 48b.
2. Yucatan brocket (*Mazama pandora*) caught in a pit-fall, Tro-Cortesianus 92a.
3. Glyph for hare or rabbit, Nuttall 16.
4. Same, Nuttall 5.
5. Yucatan deer, Dresden 60a.
6. Same, Tro-Cortesianus 30b.
7. Hare or rabbit, Nuttall 22.
8. Same, Dresden 61



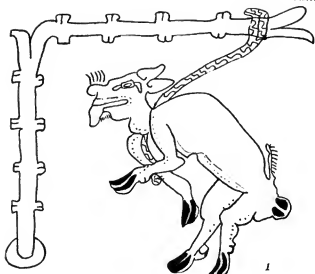


PLATE 31

MAMMALIA

YUCATAN DEER (*Odocoileus yucatanensis*)

1. Doe, Dresden 45c.
2. Same, Fégerváry-Mayer 26.
3. Same, Tro-Cortesianus 29c.
4. Same, Nuttall 50.
5. Same captured in snare, Tro-Cortesianus 86a.
6. Head-dress of god M, Tro-Cortesianus 50b.
7. Same, Tro-Cortesianus 51c.
8. Doe, Tro-Cortesianus 2b.
9. Head of same, Nuttall 43.
10. Head of doe as sacrifice, Tro-Cortesianus 77.
11. Same, Peresianus 10.
12. Haunch of venison as a sacrifice, Dresden 35a.
13. Same, Tro-Cortesianus 103b.
14. Same, Dresden 28c.
15. Same, Tro-Cortesianus 108a.



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PLATE [32](#)

MAMMALIA

YUCATAN PECCARY (*Tayassu angulatum yucatanense*)

YUCATAN DEER (*Odocoileus yucatanensis*)

- [1.](#) Peccary, Nuttall [79](#).
- [2.](#) Same, Dresden 68a.
- [3.](#) Combination, a peccary's head and forefoot, with long tail and hindfoot without hoofs, Tro-Cortesianus 66a
- [4.](#) Peccary, Dresden 45b.
- [5.](#) Man<sup>7</sup> with peccary head, Copan, Stela D, east (Maudslay, [1](#), Pl. [46](#)).
- [6.](#) Combination animal, with hoofs and dorsal crest of a peccary and scales of a reptile, Dresden [75](#).
- [7.](#) Peccary, Nuttall [9](#).
- [8.](#) Yucatan deer, with conventionalized antler, glyph for Nahua day sign, *Maçatl*, Nuttall [26](#).
- [9.](#) Same, Peresianus [5](#).
- [10.](#) Glyph for Nahua day sign *Maçatl*, Aubin [10](#).
- [11.](#) Same, Nuttall [5](#).
- [12.](#) Deer, Copan, Stela N, East (Maudslay, [1](#), Pl. [79](#)).



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PLATE 33

MAMMALIA

YUCATAN PECCARY (*Tayassu angulatum yucatanense*)

1. Peccary caught in a snare, Tro-Cortesianus 49c.
2. Glyph, Chichen Itza, Monjas, East (Maudslay, III, Pl. 13).
3. Head as a head-dress, Chichen Itza, Temple of the Tigers, Lower Chamber (Maudslay, III).
4. Peccary caught in a snare, Tro-Cortesianus 93a.
5. Tro-Cortesianus 30b.
6. Dresden 62.
7. Glyph representing a peccary's head, Dresden 45b.
8. Same, Dresden 43b.
9. Peccary caught in a snare, Tro-Cortesianus 49a.



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PLATE 34

MAMMALIA

JAGUAR, PUMA

1. Jaguar (*Felis hernandezii*), Nuttall 24.
2. Man seated in the open mouth of an animal, possibly a jaguar, Tro-Cortesianus 20a.
3. Nahua day sign, *Oceolott*, Aubin 9.
4. Pot representing a jaguar or puma (Gann, 1897-1898, Pl. 34).
5. Probably a puma (*Felis bangsi costaricensis*), Chichen Itza, Temple of the Tigers, Painted Chamber (Maudslay, III, Pl. 40).
6. Chichen Itza, Temple of the Tigers, Lower Chamber (Maudslay, III, Pl. 50).
7. Probably a puma, Dresden 47.



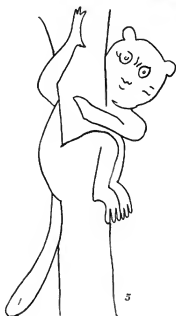


PLATE 35

MAMMALIA

COYOTE, BEAR, JAGUAR

1. Probably a coyote (*Canis*), Nuttall 6.
2. Same, Nuttall 26.
3. Possibly a bear (*Ursus*), Dresden 37a.
4. Same, Chichen Itza, Temple of the Tigers (Maudslay, III, 38).
5. Jaguar (*Felis hernandezii*), Dresden 8a.
6. Glyph, probably of a jaguar head, Copan, Stela 4 (Maudslay, I, Pl. 104).
7. Copan, Altar F (Maudslay, I, Pl. 114).
8. Jaguar, Tro-Cortesianus 28c.
9. Stone carving of jaguar head, Palenque, Palace, House C (Maudslay, IV, Pl. 24).
10. Jaguar, Tro-Cortesianus 30b.
11. Glyph, probably of a jaguar.
12. Head of jaguar in fresco, Santa Rita (Gann, 1897-1898, Pl. 31).
13. Same, Tro-Cortesianus 2a.
14. Same, Nuttall 27.



PLATE 36  
MAMMALIA  
Dog (*Canis*)

1. Dog and crab, Tro-Cortesianus 88c.
2. Tro-Cortesianus 37b.
3. Tro-Cortesianus 66b.
4. Head, Nuttall 34.
5. Nuttall 72.
6. Head, Nuttall 20.
7. Probably a dog, Nuttall 3.
8. Aubin 9.
9. Glyph for day sign *Oc*.
10. Same.
11. Same.
12. Tro-Cortesianus 91d.
13. Glyph for Nahua day sign *Itzcuintli*, Aubin 9.
14. Tro-Cortesianus 27d.



PLATE 37  
MAMMALIA  
Dog (*Canis*)

1. Dog bearing firebrands, Dresden 40b.
2. Same, Dresden 39a.
3. Same, Dresden 36a.
4. Tro-Cortesianus 88a.
5. Dresden 21b.
6. Tro-Cortesianus 24c.
7. Dresden 13c.
8. Tro-Cortesianus 37a.
9. Dresden 30a.
10. Dresden 7a.
11. Glyph supposed to represent a dog's ribs, Dresden 13c.
12. Dresden 29a.
13. Head, Tro-Cortesianus 91d.



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PLATE 38

MAMMALIA

LEAF-NOSED BAT (*Vampyrus spectrum* or *Phyllostomus hastatus panamensis*)

1. Glyph, Chichen Itza, Akat 'Cib (Maudslay, III, Pl. 19.)
2. Glyph, Copan (Maudslay, I, Pl. 8).
3. Bat god, drawn as glyph, Copan, Stela D (Maudslay, I, Pl. 48).
4. Glyph, Copan (Maudslay, I, Pl. 8).
5. Glyph, Palenque, Temple of the Inscriptions (Maudslay, IV, Pl. 60, gl. Q 1).
6. Glyph, Tikal (Maudslay III, Pl. 74, gl. 41).
7. Bat god used as decoration on pottery, Chama (Dieseldorff, 1904).





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PLATE 39

MAMMALIA

MONKEY AND MISCELLANEOUS

1. Capuchin monkey (*Cebus capucinus*), Nuttall 1.
2. Same, Nuttall 5.
3. Head of same, Nuttall 38.
4. Nondescript animal, possibly a combination of monkey and peccary, Tro-Cortesianus 88c.
5. Glyph, possibly representing a monkey, found in connection with fig. 4.
6. Glyph of head of monkey, Nuttall 1.
7. Head of long-nosed god, Tro-Cortesianus 30a.
8. Head of monkey, glyph for Nahua day sign, *Oçomalli*, Aubin 9.
9. Long-nosed god, Tro-Cortesianus 30b.
10. God with head-dress, Dresden 5c.



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